

THE SOCIAL WELFARE FORUM, 1958

OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS, 85TH ANNUAL FORUM
NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, MAY 11-16, 1958

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The National Conference on Social Welfare

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE, a voluntary association of individual and organizational members, has since 1874 provided a national forum for social welfare.

The annual forums furnish a two-way channel of communication between paid and volunteer workers, between social work and allied fields, and between the functional services and the profession.

In addition to the annual forums, the National Conference serves as a clearinghouse of basic educational materials for use on local, state, national, and international levels.

The Conference has a comprehensive publications program, and provides services to the state and international conferences on social welfare.

The Standard Conference

and the Standard of Living

The Standard Conference is a body of men and women who are interested in the standard of living of the people of the United States. They are interested in the standard of living of the people of the United States because they believe that the standard of living of the people of the United States is the standard of living of the world. They believe that the standard of living of the people of the United States is the standard of living of the world because they believe that the standard of living of the people of the United States is the standard of living of the world.

Foreword

"**A**CCENT ON PREVENTION," the theme of the 1958 Annual Forum of the National Conference on Social Welfare, reflects accurately changing trends in the social welfare field. Increasingly, the emphasis is on how to recognize early those conditions and symptoms which result in individual and family breakdown. This must be followed by far more intensive services, preventive both in broad outline and in individual result.

To focus attention on a major area in which the highest skills of professional social workers are called for, the innovation of having all programs on Wednesday, May 14, devoted in some manner to an intensive study of family breakdown was worked out by the Program Committee. The resulting papers add substantially to the breadth of our knowledge.

The year 1958 is a crucial one for the United States with widening constantly horizons, quite literally into outer space. Hence both the opening and the closing general sessions were designed to stretch our imaginations, to place social welfare's contribution to our society in perspective.

From the more than 150 papers submitted, the editorial committee had the difficult task of selecting for the Proceedings of the 85th Annual Forum the addresses which constitute this volume. Fortunately, many other papers are appearing in the companion volumes on casework, group work, and community organization, and in professional journals.

While subject matter differed widely, the contributions to the Annual Forum tended to attack traditional approaches and long-established framework, to suggest procedures through which the various methods in social work are being merged. Special attention was given to strengthening family life and to ways in which social work may contribute more effectively to family solidarity. Examination of current social issues as well as current social work prac-

tice, recognition of the increasing impact of the social sciences upon the field of social work, acceptance of the breadth of social welfare as the responsibility of the profession of social work, and commitment of the membership of the Conference to greater responsibility for effective social action were dealt with forcefully and constructively.

For the more than 5,300 Conference members, the challenges of our day were brilliantly presented in the presidential address, "Social Welfare Is Our Commitment."

The Proceedings represent the cooperative efforts of the program participants and of the Editorial Committee. Emanuel Berlatsky, Gordon Hamilton, and Joe Hoffer served on the committee. Efficient staff services were rendered by Eula B. Wyatt and Mary Hoffer. Dorothy M. Swart, of Columbia University Press, has been the efficient editor of the volume.

The committee hopes that these 1958 Proceedings will reflect clearly to its readers both where we are in social welfare and some of the challenges of our time.

ELLEN WINSTON

Chairman, Editorial Committee

National Conference on Social Welfare Awards

TWO NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE AWARDS for outstanding contributions in social welfare were presented by Eveline M. Burns, President of the Conference, at the General Session on Wednesday evening, May 14, 1958, in Chicago. The recipients were selected by the Executive Committee on the basis of nominations received from Conference members, the Associate Groups, and State Conferences of Social Work.

The recipients and their citations were as follows:

The National Conference has long known and admired him as our former President and as a social work practitioner, educator, and volunteer who, in important positions of community leadership at home and abroad, has exemplified the contributions of social work to the well-being of all people everywhere.

In selecting him as a recipient of this year's Conference Award, we desire especially to honor him for the leadership he has given to the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and its constituent bodies in the formulation of constructive and mutually acceptable policies to guide the churches' concern for social welfare. As the thrice-elected Chairman of the Council's Department of Social Welfare, he displayed a deep comprehension of the issues and misunderstandings affecting the relation of the churches to the field of social welfare. Informing himself of the diverse theological tenets and sympathetically interpreting them, he won interprofessional understanding between national leaders of the churches and of the social work profession. His skills as a community organizer enabled forty national religious bodies more fully to understand their involvement and to examine and determine their role and function in social welfare.—LEONARD W.

MAYO, Director of the Association for the Aid of Crippled Children, New York City.

The National Conference on Social Welfare is acutely conscious of the debt it owes to the legislators who, year after year, consistently support and work for adequate appropriations for our social welfare programs. Their contribution to our common cause is no less great because it is often unspectacular and unknown to the general public. It calls for conviction, courage, political acumen, and persistence in the face of frequent disappointments. In selecting Congressman Fogarty as a recipient of the Conference Award we wish to honor him for his service to human welfare through his leadership in the Congress for adequate Federal appropriations for health, education, welfare, and labor. As Chairman of the Subcommittee of the House Committee on Appropriations for the Department of Labor and of Health, Education, and Welfare, he has given vigorous and highly successful support to programs for children, the disabled, and the aged; for research, professional education, and effective administration; and for creative use of Federal grants to the states for the betterment of the welfare of all groups of people and all sections of the country.—JOHN E. FOGARTY, Congressman from the Second District of Rhode Island.

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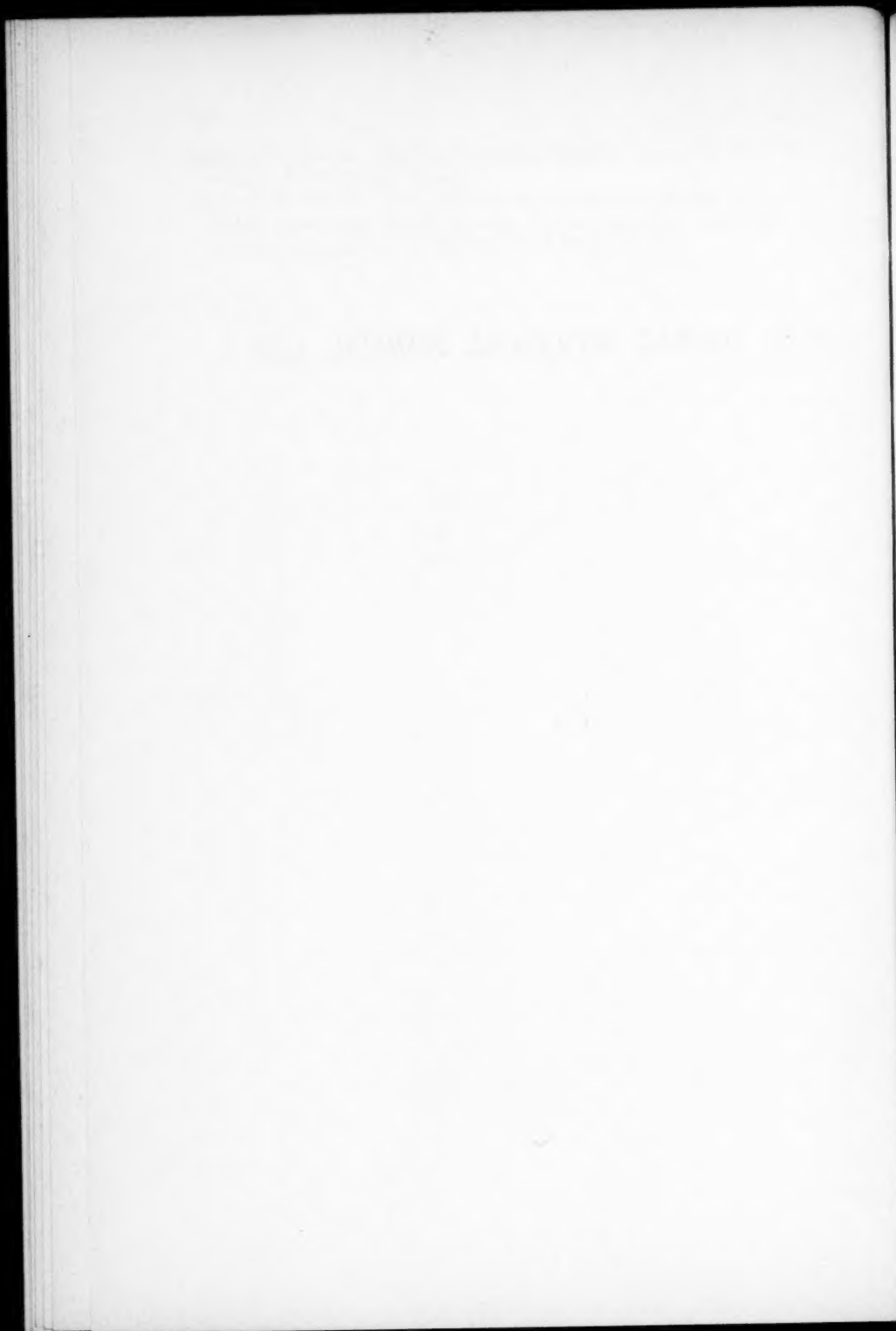
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THE SOCIAL WELFARE FORUM, 1958



Social Welfare Is Our Commitment

by *EVELINE M. BURNS*

TWO YEARS AGO, the National Conference changed its name for the second time in its history. The first change was made in 1917, in response to growing dissatisfaction with the name National Conference on Charities and Corrections. It is evident from committee reports and conference discussions of the time that the change was made to reflect the broader scope of the Conference and, in particular, to emphasize the fact that its members were deeply interested in constructive and preventive measures and did not limit their horizons to the running of institutions or programs for the needy and the delinquent. The titles that were suggested and voted on make this very clear. While the final choice, National Conference of Social Work, won by a last-minute amendment to a decision to adopt National Conference of Social Workers, it is significant that proposals to use the words "social welfare" in our title received almost as many votes as the original favorite. Furthermore, such names as National Conference on Public Welfare, National Conference on Social Progress, and American Sociological Conference were close runners-up.

The ultimate preference for National Conference on Social Work seems to have reflected the belief that at the time this was the term which seemed most comprehensively to embrace the entire field of social welfare and the concerns of all those who were interested in it regardless of their functions, professional orientation, skills, and affiliations. The words were, indeed, used in a truly generic sense. In some quarters they are still used with this connotation. When social historians wish to show the historical influence of social workers, they cite immigration legislation, housing controls, wage and hour legislation, factory inspection,

and not merely child welfare and public relief. Thus both Robert H. Bremner and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., use the words "social workers" to describe a group of influential people, many of whom today would not be thought of as "social workers" and even fewer of whom would be admitted to membership in the National Association of Social Workers.

But, since 1917, the terms "social work" and "social workers" have narrowed and come to signify only certain categories of people who are involved in our social services, and only some of the programs that forty years ago would have been classified as "social work" measures. This tendency to restrict "social work" to denote a specific group of social welfare measures and a specific series of skilled services has been hastened by the development of a profession of social workers, who, like all professionals, are inevitably interested in establishing their professional identity and sphere of competence and monopoly.

Now there is obviously nothing undesirable about the professionalization of certain types of welfare activities. On the contrary, it is to be warmly welcomed as a means of raising the levels of service and protecting the public against charlatans and malpractice. And from a group of highly trained professionals one can reasonably expect leadership to emerge. Unfortunately, however, this leadership is likely to stress those problems that are especially significant to professionals, and these may not always be as comprehensive as the total field of social welfare. I can best illustrate my meaning by considering certain characteristics of the professional viewpoint which seem to me to have resulted in recent years in a narrowing of our focus of concern and our effectiveness.

First of all, then, the professional approach tends to place major emphasis upon the *doer of the job* rather than upon the actual or potential beneficiary or the problem. I am tempted to label this the "cocoon approach" to social welfare: the search for a comfortable and protecting environment favorable to professional self-development. The professional objective is, understandably, performance as an individual, at the highest levels of professional competence. Hence, he tends to gravitate toward those employments that permit him to apply his painfully acquired skills and

knowledge with the greatest effectiveness. In social welfare this emphasis on maximizing professional performance has had results little short of disastrous.

It has led trained workers to shun the field of public welfare. Our graduates, if free to choose, as they generally are with the current over-all shortage of trained personnel, tend to cluster in the private agencies, and what the grapevine regards as the "better" private agencies at that. This they do because they believe, first, that there they can do "good" casework and, second, that they will learn to do "better" casework because they think there is a higher quality of professional supervision in the private agencies. But the consequence is that our great public agencies, which spend over 90 percent of all welfare funds and probably service an even larger proportion of all clients, and whose clienteles certainly face problems as acute as any of those served by the private agencies, are denied their fair share of trained and skilled personnel.

We see the cocoon approach at work also in the field of corrections, which, until recently, has been largely neglected as a field of operation for professional social workers. The theoretical basis of casework, which emphasizes a nonauthoritarian approach, leads far too many workers to feel that they cannot do a good job by current professional standards in such an environment. To use a word that appears far too often in our literature, they are not "comfortable" in working with authority. As a result, another big social problem area has been denied the help of skilled personnel.

What is even more important, the neglect of important welfare programs as areas of employment tends to result also in a neglect of the social problems with which these institutions deal.

But this emphasis on the doer of the job and what is comfortable for him and most conducive to high standards of professional performance is not confined to individuals. It extends also to agencies. There has been a disturbing tendency for agencies, too, to define their clienteles by reference to the kinds of people who can benefit from the particular types of expertise the agency is currently equipped to provide. From one point of view, of course, this makes sense: clearly defined specialization of function can be

an important step toward more orderly organization of welfare services. But when it means that the doors are closed to the very groups whose needs for service are greatest by reference to any kind of calculus, because, for example, they are not appropriately motivated or do not fit into the particular categories of persons whom the agency has elected to serve, then surely there is something wrong. The "hard-to-reach youth," the multiproblem families, the young women who have one "ADC child" after another, the released delinquents returning to their communities—surely these are some of our most needy groups who, in a more rational world, one would have expected to find among the priority clients of our social welfare services.

A second characteristic of professional groups, and of social workers among them, is a tendency to what I have elsewhere called "professional myopia." It is a state of mind which tends to deflect attention from problems which do not seem to be amenable to attack by the particular methods and skills which the profession claims as its own. It tends, too, to blind the professional to possible solutions which make less demand on his professional expertise. One illustration of this is the relative neglect in our professional training of the study of problems of social policy, of what Professor Titmuss has happily termed "social epidemiology," and of the potentialities of mass measures for dealing with social maladjustment. Now it is true that the kinds of knowledge and skills needed for grappling with these problems are difficult to identify and certainly cannot be compressed into a well-defined "process" or unique form of "practice," over which some one profession has a monopoly. But are the problems of social policy then to go by default? And if not, and if the social work professional schools deny their intensive study any place in the list of accepted professional specializations, must we not make sure that such training is given somewhere else?

The tendency to myopia can also be seen in the professional's attitude toward appropriate solutions for the problem of poverty. Fifty years ago and more, it was in dealing with the poor that social workers made their greatest contributions, both in policy and in practice. Again, at the time of the depression of the 1930s and the

creation of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, it was the social workers who both brought the intensity of need to the attention of the nation and its lawmakers and who influenced the content of the developing program. For this they can never have too much honor. But the FERA was still a program based on individual need and individual determination of the amount of the payment. Within the limits of such an approach, social workers did all they could to make the process (which suggested the use of social work skills) as little destructive of individual dignity as possible. But, and this is the important point, when a new method of dealing with poverty was proposed, namely, social insurance, which at a stroke eliminated the problem of making the process of determining eligibility and amount of payment in some way "acceptable" to the applicant, social workers, with very few exceptions, were not prominent among those developing and crusading for this new method. It was rather the economists and lawyers; and even today most social workers appear to regard social insurance as of interest primarily as and when there is an occasion for rendering casework or group work services to the beneficiaries.

The same kind of myopia is seen even today in regard to public assistance. We fuss and fume about the administration of public assistance. We cry for the employment of more social workers so that an inevitably nasty process can be made less disturbing to the families affected. But we stop short of picking up Edith Abbott's challenge to the whole means test approach as such. We fail to point out that many thousands could be spared the highly and offensively individualized process of need determination, if we were prepared to adopt an income-conditioned pension approach with its standard payments and more precise legal specification of the treatment of resources and definition of the responsible family unit. We do not challenge the appropriateness of a program which deals with millions of people and typically involves three levels of government, and yet seeks to individualize payments to the extent even of differentiating between users of kerosene or gas, between children of different sexes, and the like, and whose administration may require the investigator to secure correct answers to as many as

400 questions per client. This failure to question the system as such is attributable in the last resort, I believe, to this same professional myopia which blinds us to the possibility that there may be a better solution for the client which, however, would not utilize our particular professional skills or which would make a lesser demand on them.

Our attitude toward children's allowances is similar. While our ignorance of this almost universally adopted approach to the economic needs of children is not so abysmally great as it was ten years ago, the first reaction of social workers is still likely to be hostile. Certainly there is no evidence of any burning desire to explore responsibly the potentialities for America of this new instrument for social welfare. Lest it should appear that Americans are unique in this respect, it should also be said that in Canada, too, the impetus for children's allowances did not come from social workers, but from the economists and politicians.

Now obviously the situation is not wholly black. In the last few years there have been many encouraging signs of a reawakening to the broader interests of social welfare and a renewed concern about the problems which the social services were brought into being to remedy. And many of these efforts to change our perspectives have been triggered by professional social workers. But equally obviously, we still have far to go.

I want to make it clear that we cannot wholly blame the profession for its preoccupations and narrower emphases, particularly when it is still struggling for fully recognized professional status. The cocoon approach to the professional role and the tendencies to professional myopia are characteristic in greater or lesser degree of even the most fully fledged professions. It was not without anguish that the medical profession came to accept the significance of social medicine and the fact that some diseases could be coped with more effectively by environmental change than by medical treatment. And doctors still regard the question of methods of financing and organizing medical care primarily in terms of whether or not proposed changes will be "comfortable" for the practitioner. Nor were doctors and dentists overly welcoming of the tendency to develop a class of technicians or semiprofessionals

to whom they could hand over some of the less highly skilled types of practice.

What we can object to is the tendency of the professional to boss the show. Long ago Kenneth Pray popularized the phrase about keeping the professional, the expert, on tap but not on top. We must insist that the professional core does not speak for the whole of social welfare. For their preoccupations and interests may be all well and good for a professional social work organization, but they are not good enough for a Conference on Social Welfare. They are too constricting.

It was for this reason, I believe, that the membership decided in 1956 to change our name. We must now ask ourselves what would be the emphases of a conference that kept its eyes squarely on the whole of social welfare. I suggest there would be four main foci of interest.

First, and most important, our preoccupation would always be with social problems. Programs, methods, and techniques have meaning, for social welfare, only as they relate to the social problems of groups of people. These are problems which cannot be solved by reliance on the operations of the economic market or with which the family cannot deal without organized assistance.

An emphasis on *social* problems would, I believe, lead a Conference on Social Welfare to accept the responsibility of giving leadership to the nation by helping to identify major problem areas calling for social provision. In a small way we have tried to do so in this year's Forum. By devoting all our sessions on one day to the problem of family breakdown we are, in effect, telling the nation that we regard this as a major national problem. By focusing our own attention on a single problem, we may also force ourselves to look at our various programs and methods by reference to their effectiveness in contributing to its solution.

If we are to give this kind of leadership we must develop a sense of priorities. For not every service that is rendered by social workers can properly be regarded as social welfare. There has, for instance, been much recent discussion about servicing the higher income groups. I suggest to you that, important as such a development may be from the point of view of a professional group—

for it broadens their market and perhaps enhances prestige—the problem of how to bring services to such groups is not a high-priority topic for a conference interested in social welfare so long as there are hundreds of thousands of people who are in need of the kind of help that can be secured only through socially provided services, and who cannot get it. These are our priority clients. The aspect of serving the higher income groups that would interest a Conference on Social Welfare would be the possible effect of such a development on further reducing the limited supply of funds and personnel available to service the priority social problem groups.

A second focus of interest of a Conference on Social Welfare would take the form of a persistent effort to refine our knowledge of the causes of identified social problems. We would be asking always: What do we really know about the causes of juvenile delinquency, or the broken home, or the chronic problem family? Only on the basis of our assumptions about causes, imperfect as our knowledge may be at any time, can we devise appropriate remedial measures; only by a refinement of our knowledge of causes through research can we construct preventive programs with any prospect of success.

In our search for causes we shall have to seek help from a variety of scientists; for a social problem, by definition, arises out of the totality of community life. We must once again join hands with the economists, the sociologists, the social psychologists, as well as the personality theorists and perhaps even the physical scientists. A professional research organization can, if it wishes, limit its membership to people who have Master's degrees in social work. We whose concern is social welfare cannot afford to deny ourselves the knowledge and understanding that scientists of all kinds may have to contribute to the study of the causes of social problems.

A third major emphasis of a Conference on Social Welfare would be a constant evaluation of the effectiveness of social programs and services. We must never forget that these have come into existence because the community was disturbed about the unmet needs of groups of people. We have no right to expect the

community to support our activities unless we can show that what we are doing is, in fact, helping to solve the social problems that trouble the conscience of the nation. We should find ourselves compelled to probe for answers to many questions. Do our programs and services yield the results expected? An important advantage of asking this question would be that it would force us constantly to formulate for ourselves exactly what results we are trying to achieve, and for what types of cases or categories of persons.

We should be asking: If the expected results are not attained, why not? Is it that conditions have changed, and we are still applying old policies to a changed social environment? Is the program or method good in itself but applied to cases or groups for whom it is inappropriate, or inadequate unless buttressed by other measures? Is failure due to a shortage of money? If so, can we afford to be indifferent to the problems of securing funds, and since public funds are vital for the support of our welfare programs, to such burning issues as the role of the Federal Government in welfare financing? Is our incomplete success due to a shortage of trained personnel? Or is it that our personnel are inappropriately trained or wastefully used? Or does the trouble lie in the method by which we organize our social services? Do some of our most needy groups remain unserved because of a failure of all the agencies in the community to coordinate their efforts and to subordinate agency self-interest to the need to grapple with a high-priority social problem? Surely a Conference on Social Welfare, unfettered by agency loyalties and uncommitted to the principle of live and let live might be expected to evaluate the totality of public and private agency performance and point directions for improvement, letting the chips fall where they may.

The fourth major emphasis of a Conference on Social Welfare, as I see it, would be on prevention. Though in principle it should ever be our primary objective, I have mentioned this last only because one cannot practice prevention until one has identified a problem and adopted some workable hypotheses as to its causes. In putting our accent on prevention we must once again be mindful of the problem of priorities. We cannot rest content with the

comfortable demonstration that in some sense almost all our services and programs are preventive. We must ask whether some are more effective than others in relation to the resources used, for funds and personnel are not unlimited.

An emphasis on prevention may well require a frank admission of the limitations of some of our programs and services. But I do not think this should dismay us: rather should we shout it from the housetops. We are encouraging complacency and doing ourselves no good if we allow the community to believe that if only we had more protective services and more skilled staffs, the problem of the broken home, or of the unmarried mother, or of the delinquent, would disappear. We can do only so much. So often, we have to work against the environment of a society which places a high value on material welfare but denies many of its members the opportunity to secure high incomes in socially approved ways or to play status-conferring roles. It preaches nonviolence and acceptance of individual differences but tolerates perpetual preparation for war, and often practices discrimination.

These then, as I see it, would be the emphases and concerns of a Conference on Social Welfare. But you will have noticed that my title is not "social welfare is our concern" but "social welfare is our commitment." I chose the word "commitment" deliberately, for it implies much more than a mere concern or focus of interest. Implicit in "commitment" is the idea of dedication, of devotion to a cause. It is a concern that is not limited to working hours or circumscribed by the boundaries of specific agency function. It is a state of mind which conceives of one's own job as part of a wider whole and where attention is focused always on the wider objective.

I know that it is fashionable these days to assert that the spark has gone out of social welfare; that there are no longer any great causes to get excited about; that what the world now needs is not burning indignation and an appeal to men's hearts and consciences but a sober and competent application to one's well-defined job. We indulge in nostalgic discussions about the alleged absence of great and inspiring leaders in social welfare in this day and age: personalities like Jane Addams, Florence Kelley, Father Ryan, the

Abbotts, to illustrate only from this century, whose burning zeal for social justice and whose practical and courageous leadership awoke the consciences and enlisted the cooperation and devotion of men and women all over the country. The explanations offered for the apparent disappearance of leadership of this caliber deserve examination, for they are disturbingly revealing of our present state of mind.

It is sometimes said that the very growth of social welfare programs accounts for the absence of inspiring and challenging personalities. The men and women who thirty or forty years ago would have been raising their voices in the interests of the disadvantaged, it is said, have been drawn into the administration of our great social programs. Encapsulated in the public service, their voices, it is held, are stilled. What utter nonsense! Did their positions as chiefs of the Children's Bureau ever prevent Julia Lathrop or Grace Abbott from speaking up and telling the nation what it should do for its children? Was not Harry Hopkins most vocal and effective when he was Relief Administrator in New York State and in the FERA and WPA? Did his position with the Social Security Administration prevent Arthur Altmeyer from perpetually urging us to improve our social insurance protections? Clearly we must seek our explanation elsewhere, for it is evident that regardless of official position the man or woman of courage and conviction will speak up so all can hear.

Sometimes the explanation is sought in dark references to the "power structure." We are told that developments in the welfare field are largely controlled by powerful business and political forces or by the socially dominant community power groups. In such an atmosphere, it is suggested, the prophet, even if he existed, would continue to cry in a wilderness, for his followers would be few and wholly ineffectual. If we are honest with ourselves, I do not believe that we can shelter behind this comforting alibi. Certainly the great leaders of the past did not. For this argument overlooks the fact that they too had to work against a hostile and well-organized power structure. When Florence Kelley and Frances Perkins were fighting to abolish sweated wages, child labor, and long working hours they too, at first, were voices crying in the

wilderness, with organized industry and, often too, organized labor and the powers of the Supreme Court ranged against them. But they were not discouraged. When Jane Addams and Lillian Wald began to focus the attention of the nation on the plight of the immigrant communities and the slum dwellers in general, do you suppose they faced no powerful opposition from vested interests as well as the debilitating opposition of a vast indifference? When Jacob Riis was crusading against foul housing conditions and when Abraham Epstein was awakening the nation to the insecurity of the aged they certainly aroused strong opposition and trod on powerful toes, but it did not deter them.

A careful reading of the social history of this country suggests, indeed, that in comparison with the social and power environment in which these leaders developed and made their contribution, our situation is very favorable. We have today a literate electorate, and above all, one that has been conditioned to higher expectations. The national conscience, despite our occasional discouragements, is more sensitive than it was fifty years ago. We have methods of communication that were not then available. The productivity of the country is vastly higher, so that greater resources are available to us. And while the power structure of organized business and wealth has perhaps become more evident, more particularly through the importance of the corporate giver in federated financing, we have today on our side a new, powerful group, organized labor, which no longer opposes minimum wages, social insurance, and other social measures and which is increasingly concerned with the welfare of all workers and not merely with that of the more highly skilled. We have, too, another weapon of which we make far too little use: factual data. We no longer have to guess about the economic and social conditions of our families or to base our case on painfully and individually gathered scraps of information. If we take the trouble to look for and use it, there is dynamite in our censuses, our governmental reports, and social surveys.

I suggest to you that we cannot get away with the argument that we are weak and powerless in the face of a hostile environment. If the environment is hostile, or perhaps worse, indifferent, I

suspect the fault is largely ours, for we have not challenged it. Somewhat more plausible is the explanation that runs in terms of the technical nature of social welfare in this day and age. The job to be done, it is alleged, is no longer that of exciting people about the problem of economic insecurity, but the much more technical and humdrum one of persuading them to change a benefit formula, or an eligibility condition, or to modify a disqualification rule. Granting, for the moment, that in some (though certainly not in all) problem areas this is in fact the situation, the need for leadership is still there. For someone must ensure that the voters and their representatives understand why such a technical change is needed and what difference it makes to human beings whether this or another formula is adopted. I will admit that to give this kind of leadership calls for more than just a general liking for people and a strong social urge. It means that the social actionist in this area must be prepared to know his program thoroughly and master much technical detail. But he must not be a pure technician. He must possess the art of showing what effect the technical provision would have on the lives of people and be able to meet the objections of his opponents.

Yet another untenable alibi for our lack of vital leadership is the assertion that most individuals can do little, for so much happens at the national level and the programs are so big. Only the supremely gifted person, it is said, can achieve inspiring national leadership. In fact, of course, no great national leader sprang into prominence overnight. National leadership was preceded by years of pretty discouraging activity on a small scale: of addressing hundreds of dreary little meetings in small communities where the chairman apologizes for the absence of half the audience; of long hours spent in composing letters to the press that never get published or preparing testimony for hearings before boards and local and state legislatures only to find one is allowed to speak less than five minutes; of organizing groups and individuals to bring pressure to bear on some local bigwig who, despite the convincing arguments one has mustered, votes the other way.

Furthermore, there are plenty of opportunities for leadership short of the national level. Indeed, I am tempted to say that over

the last twenty-five years we have directed our efforts too exclusively to the national level. For, apart from Old-Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance, and the railroad and veterans programs, the actual content of our social welfare measures is determined at the local, and particularly the state, level. In the federally aided programs we have tended to rely on the pressure of Federal standards and have often neglected to convince people in the communities of the desirability of the policies we favor. Our consternation when the Federal confidentiality standard was relaxed was a measure of our own recognition that an imposed policy might not have secured a wide basis of support, though in this case the worst that we expected did not occur. We may soon be paying a stiffer price for our neglect of action at the state level. We have become accustomed to counting on unemployment insurance as an instrument for meeting the needs of the unemployed, and incidentally removing a vast burden of financial support from our public and private welfare agencies. Now we suddenly discover, with rising unemployment, that there are grave shortcomings in our unemployment insurance systems. But what efforts have we made to ensure that they are capable of carrying out the social function assigned to them? Have we been lobbying in the state legislatures for more adequate benefits or for longer durations? Have we fought the experience-rating provisions that have served to cut taxes rather than to improve the program?

I have left to the last the most absurd of all the excuses for the lack of "spark" in social welfare and the absence of vital leadership. This is the assertion that as compared with forty years ago there are no more causes to get excited about. No causes, when we have only to read the daily papers or to look around us in our communities to see a hundred causes crying out for our support! Have we become so complacent about the enormous increase in national productivity (which admittedly has done more for the well-being of people than almost all our social welfare programs) that we are blind to the existence of groups who have not shared in this rising standard of living? Is the existence of almost 4 million families, and 4.5 million individuals, with cash incomes of less than \$1,000 a year not a social problem crying out for constructive

social action? Are the hundreds of thousands of migrants, with their low incomes, frequently intolerable living and working conditions, and lack of stable community relationships for themselves and their families, no concern of ours? Are the millions of our fellow citizens who because of race are denied equal access to job opportunities, educational facilities, and suitable housing not a crying reproach to our national conscience? Are we not shocked by the changing demographic composition of our cities, which, as the more prosperous move out, become centers of low-income and minority groups? Is there no stimulus to mobilize all the social wisdom and leadership we can muster to protect the lives of those who dwell there from being stunted and damaged?

Are we not outraged by the housing conditions of millions of Americans despite our vaunted high average standard of living? We, of all people, see at firsthand the conditions under which people live (and if we don't, it's time we left our desks and our appointments and found out). We should be among the first calling attention to the consequences of poor housing, of the miserable and inadequate attacks on the problem, and the results of poor housing policy, such as the deplorable ghettoizing of many of our housing projects.

Is the whole question of medical care not a burning issue today? Are we indifferent to the plight of millions of people who either must forego needed care because of financial considerations or who live in perpetual fear of ruining their families in the event that costly illness should strike?

If we place our accent on prevention, can we be anything but shamed by our miserable record in the field of rehabilitation or by our stupidity in spending money to inspect the teeth of our school children and then failing to ensure that the necessary treatment is in fact given? An accent on prevention would surely also urge us to do more in our states and localities to ensure that public assistance clients are given the constructive and preventive services envisaged in the 1956 Social Security Amendments.

Even in the area of economic security, where we have achieved our greatest successes, there are still plenty of causes. We have still failed to provide adequate insurance protection against loss

of income due to disability or against unemployment that persists more than a few weeks, and the payments are meager for a nation that boasts of its high standard of living. Is there no challenge to the social conscience, no negation of our talk about prevention, in the fact that we expect an ADC family to enjoy a normal life on an average payment, for the nation as a whole, of \$6.75 a week per recipient?

Are the social problems of the broken home, or of our multi-problem families, or of juvenile delinquency, or of unplaced children in need of foster care not disturbing enough to stir our consciences and stimulate us to action? No, it is not causes that are wanting: it is our response to the challenge that is lacking.

What made the great leaders of the past so influential was their commitment to a cause. They cared desperately about people, they had a vision of the good life, they were morally indignant about one or more social evils. Thus armed, they had the courage never to accept defeat and to bear with frustration, disappointment and the realization that the job is never done. They had a sense of priorities that enabled them to put first things first. They realized that one cannot pioneer in every cause; one must select some problem as one's own even though one can give anonymous support to many. They recognized that a leader must know where he is headed and be knowledgeable about the pros and cons of possible ways of getting there. They accepted the hard work involved in such mastery of a problem area. They took their allies where they found them, businessmen, ward leaders, trade unionists, the clergy, the local social clubs, the lawyers, and above all the politicians: they did not fear to operate outside their own expert or professionally like-minded groups. Always it was the advancement of the cause to which they were committed that motivated them.

Acceptance of social welfare as a commitment, and not just as an interesting way of earning one's living, gaining social prestige, or filling the hours left over from other more demanding pursuits, is thus nothing to be undertaken lightly. But if we are willing to embark upon this venture we can secure much help from the National Conference. Our constitution does indeed forbid us, as an

organized body, to pass resolutions (other than resolutions of thanks and appreciation) and to take positions or engage in social action. But there are still many ways in which, as individuals, we can use the Conference to help ourselves to further the cause of social welfare, if our objective is clear and we design our programs appropriately.

First, through the Conference we can inform ourselves of the changing economic, demographic, social, and political developments which determine the character of current or emerging social problems, the goals at which we should aim, and the feasibility and appropriateness of remedial and preventive measures.

Second, we can use the Conference to keep abreast of major developments in the field of social welfare, the extent to which we have made progress or retrogressed. We can reexamine our assumptions about causes; we can evaluate the relative effectiveness of currently applied programs and services. Where we discover failure, or but limited success, we can, in Conference, fearlessly seek to discover why, so that we may know in which direction to apply our efforts to bring about change.

Third, we can use the Forum to replenish our sense of dedication and commitment. With deeper knowledge of our past and our present we can understand more fully the magnitude of the task to which we have set our hand and thereby gain a steadying sense of proportion. We begin to understand why miracles cannot be expected overnight and why, when the issues are so complex, it is foolish to be discouraged by occasional failures or minuscule successes. We come to realize, too, that if we all throw in our hands nothing at all will happen, and we can take heart from the evidence of many of our sessions that courageous and dedicated individuals and groups can effect change. What they can do we too can do, if we are sufficiently motivated. So may we return home, after the Forum week, proud because we are part of a glorious tradition, humble because there is still so much to which we do not know the answer, but above all, confident and courageous, because of the knowledge that we are not alone: we are all united in a common cause. Social welfare is our commitment.

Foreign Relations Begin at Home

by *PHILIP C. JESSUP*

SOCRATES SAID THAT he had known only a few people who could make a pair of shoes but he had never met anyone who could not run the ship of state. Now if he had only visited the United States, particularly in an election year, he would have found plenty of people ready to point out persons who were in that latter category. Americans sometimes suffer from overconfidence, but when it comes to foreign policy we are often unnecessarily, and I think inappropriately, diffident.

Although some of his current suggestions are highly controversial, I take as my theme a sentence from George Kennan's recent Reith lecture over the BBC: "Whether we win against the Russians is primarily a question of whether we win against ourselves."

That is not a new discovery. Thucydides remarks in the funeral oration of Pericles a thought with comparable implications: "I fear our mistakes far more than the strategy of our enemies."

No country, obviously, can have a foreign policy which is unrelated to its domestic policy. Much of our foreign policy depends, let us face it frankly, on spending money—money for defense, money for our information program, money for our embassies and consulates abroad, money for our aid programs. Congress controls the purse strings, and we, the people, control, or can control, the Congress.

Now you cannot leave foreign policy to the experts. We shall always have need of trained experts in diplomacy, but expertness must be mingled with common sense. And surely, in your own expert work for social welfare you must draw on the inner warmth of the human spirit. You must rely on the community. It is an

established part of the legislative basis of our foreign service that our diplomats lose much of their value as representatives of the United States abroad if they lose touch with what is going on and what is being thought at home. Every American citizen, when he gets a passport to travel abroad, receives a reminder from the President of the United States that as he travels he represents the United States and that other nations form their impressions of the United States from the impression that he individually creates. But you do not have to leave the boundaries of the United States to contribute to the image of America in the minds of other people. Little Rock is as much of a burden to our foreign policy as it is a sign that we have not yet achieved success in ordering our own domestic affairs.

We have much to be proud of, but our pride has to be mingled with humility. Most people have forgotten that it was the same vigorous Teddy Roosevelt who advocated the foreign policy of the "big stick" who said in his annual message to Congress in 1904:

We have plenty of sins of our own to war against and under ordinary circumstances we can do more for the general uplifting of humanity by striving with heart and soul to put a stop to civil corruption, to brutal lawlessness and violent race prejudices here at home than by passing resolutions about wrong-doing elsewhere. . . . There must be no efforts made to remove the mote from our brother's eye if we refuse to remove the beam from our own.¹

It is rather interesting that Kennan is preaching the same doctrine that Teddy Roosevelt preached in 1904. We are faced with messes which have to be cleaned up and we have to deal with them and not worry about substitutes. But at the same time, while we have this concentration on the troubles that we face at home, and which we must deal with, we cannot escape the responsibility of world leadership which is imposed upon us, by our virtues if you like, virtues which have resulted in our wealth and our power and, we hope, our moral values. We, therefore, have to look outside our own country at the rest of the world as we face the dangers that stem from the power and hostility of the Soviet Union.

¹ United States Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States, 1904* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), p. xlii.

Our foreign aid program is in this picture. There is a stupid fallacy which attacks the foreign aid program on the theory that it is designed to buy friends abroad and since it does not succeed in buying friends, it is a failure. I do not know of any responsible official in government who has ever maintained that the purpose of the aid program was to buy friends, and obviously we cannot do that anyway. The American Assembly, discussing the whole question of our foreign aid program, adopted this statement in 1956:

For the foreseeable future the United States must continue to employ military, economic, and technical assistance as instruments of foreign policy. In view of the continuing military threat of Soviet and Red Chinese imperialism, the most immediate national interest involved, and the one responsible for the magnitude of the program is the security interest. Foreign assistance serves other major and enduring interests—political independence, stability, and economic progress, especially in the new nations of Asia and Africa. Such independence, stability, and progress will reduce the danger of international conflict and permit the evolution of these new nations as peaceful and constructive members of the world community. These programs will also serve to expand international trade and private investment, and thereby help our own nation as well as others. It is thus clear that foreign assistance is based on the positive interests of the United States. At the same time it accords with the humanitarian impulses of the American people.²

Now, no matter how generously, how wisely, we appropriate money for economic aid and technical assistance, good results can be destroyed by the methods and manners of administration, which is merely to say that the familiar personnel problem looms large. Our very energy and zeal may be our undoing. One of our Point Four missions out in Asia exhibited a movie of a typical workman's home in the United States, showing the wife cleaning the rugs with a vacuum cleaner. The response was not delight or amazement at the vacuum cleaner, but complete skepticism because, they said, "how perfectly ridiculous to try to make us believe that workmen have rugs in their homes!" The difficulty of conveying our operation into terms which fit the situations and the appreciations of the people we are trying to help is a large one.

² The American Assembly, Graduate School of Business, Columbia University, *International Stability and Progress, United States Interests and Instruments* (New York: the American Assembly, Columbia University, 1957), p. 172.

One of the most successful and among the first of our technical assistance programs, begun about a dozen years ago, was the Joint Committee on Rural Reconstruction. It operated in China. It was, in the first place, a cooperative venture, with Chinese and American experts and administrators working side by side. Our representatives did not arrive with a complete blueprint all worked out in Washington. They arrived with a series of question marks and they were not in a hurry. They did not insist that the Chinese must grow everything that the American farmer grows, or that they should grow everything in exactly the same way. They proceeded to sit down and study a Chinese rural community and to ask what troubled the farmers. The diseases killing off the hogs and the cattle and the poultry were easily identified. There were blights on the fruit trees. There were recurrent floods. Time was spent analyzing, diagnosing, gaining the confidence of the people. In due course, permission was secured to treat some of the animals, to spray the trees. Surveys showed how the floods could be controlled, and there was plenty of labor to begin dredging and diking. And as the seasons rolled around and the results of the work began to show, more and more farmers began to ask for help. Soon it was possible to start a little model agricultural farm and show how better crops could be raised from better seed and through better methods of cultivation. The work spread to all of that province. It was not finished when the Communists overran that part of China; but after a period of Communist "liberation," the farmers said to their new masters, "When the Americans were here our animals were healthy; our fruit trees bore good fruit; our crops were plentiful; our floods were controlled. Today, our animals sicken again; the pests have returned to the fruit trees; and the dikes which controlled the floods have broken down." Now this was a case where successful foreign policy was worked out in the homes of the Chinese farmers.

I wonder what is the image of America which thousands of foreign visitors get as they visit our homes and our communities in the United States each year. You remember that the 1957 resolution of the American Assembly on the objectives and reasons for the foreign aid program concluded with a reference to its agree-

ment with the "humanitarian impulses of the American people." I should like to add another goal or objective of American foreign policy in general in our aid program and in other matters. I would emphasize that our foreign policy must satisfy the sense of justice of the American people.

Many will challenge that. They will say, "Oh, that has nothing to do with foreign policy," but it represents something substantial from the point of view of the American people. The American people are not likely to consider a foreign policy successful if it secures some material gain at the expense of principles which they consider part of their heritage. Here looms the whole debate over the role of ethics or morals in foreign policy. Without re-arguing that, I do assert that there is such a thing as an American conscience, a national conscience which does not rest easily if it feels that the United States has failed to show a "decent respect to the opinions of mankind." There is a persistent uneasiness about the justification for the use of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Fifty years ago the anti-imperialists were able to build on a like uneasiness when they attacked McKinley's Philippine policy. Sixty and more years ago, Congress reflected this call of conscience in resolutions adopted on such occasions as the Jewish pogroms in Russia and the massacre of the Armenians in Turkey. The reception of the great Hungarian patriot Kossuth in Washington a century ago, like the reception of the Hungarian refugees today, is a further illustration. In framing its policy on the issues of colonialism today, it is clear the Department of State must feel the necessity of taking into account the sympathies of the American people for groups which are seeking independence. Whether or not the policy-making be influenced by expediency or necessity, deciding upon certain courses of action and the results of the policy will be judged by the American people, at least partly, in terms of whether they feel they can look the world in the eye and say, "That was the right thing for the United States to do." We cannot be satisfied with half measures when we are responding to the national conscience.

In the front line today advancing the American foreign policy are our scientists, and close behind them in support are the

teachers and all who are concerned with education. Foreign policy is affected by every decision of a school board in the United States. I am not thinking only of atomic weapons, missiles, and all the new armory of devices for destruction and defense. Not that I minimize their importance; they are vital, in the real meaning of the word "vital." I am thinking rather of broader fields of competition and of cooperation in science and technology, because we have the capability of aiding the world, and therefore ourselves, with more than dollars. Personally, I possess a vast ignorance in the natural sciences and I am therefore constantly torn between disbelief and credulity. But the testimony of our scientific friends does provide convincing evidence that in our lifetime we shall see extraordinary new developments; nuclear power will surely be developed; progress is being made with low-cost purification of sea water. In the words of Harold Lasswell, we are learning "to mine the water for minerals and to farm the oceans for food-stuffs." The great human problem of overpopulation may be brought under control. There are reputable scientists who have confidence that we shall be able to control the weather. We do not yet know what further mysteries will be solved as the exploration of outer space continues.

Now the scientists are concerned with the social use to be made of their discoveries. Most of us in the political and social sciences have not yet caught up in our thinking with the challenges which will confront us. The United States, as we are well aware, has no monopoly of keen scientific minds. Sputnik did us the service of jarring from our minds some dangerous misconceptions. It is apparent that miscalculation of the potentialities of Soviet science and technology led us to wrong decisions concerning the use to be made of the new scientific achievements in nuclear physics. As Lloyd Berkner, the President of Associated Universities, Director of the Brookhaven Laboratories, wrote recently, "we did not understand the political significance of this intellectual attainment and failed to capitalize fully on the opportunity." Our scientists represented in the Academy of Science sent congratulatory messages to the Soviet scientists, while our politicians in Washington, in hysterical appeals to avoid hysteria, tried to minimize what had

occurred. The policies which we did adopt did violence to the principles which the scientists have often urged upon us, namely, the essential unity of scientific thought and progress, the interdependence of science which was so abundantly evidenced by our own reliance on the scientific achievement of men of many nations. It is conceivable that science may compel the suppression of some consequences of political disunity and the acceptance of some principles of international unity. World-wide cooperation during the international geophysical year may be an example. The recent developments in Europe, their Coal and Steel Community, Common Market, and Euratom, are evidences of this same kind of unity in a limited area. It may be that this will spread.³

Suppose one applied the principle of unity to the approaching problems of the use of interplanetary space, problems which can no longer be left to the novelists and the comic books. It is sound policy for the United States to work diplomatically for the attainment of international regulation of interplanetary space through the United Nations. It is fallacious, I think, to assume that the Soviet Union would be deaf to any such proposals because they now have a technological lead. It is reasonable to assume that they expect the United States to reduce that lead and, quite possibly, to pass to the front. In terms of stark realism it makes no sense for the two greatest powers to frame their policies on the basis of day-to-day scientific preeminence in any particular field. The cold basic fact which underlies the policies of the United States and of the Soviet Union is that we both have the capacity for mutual annihilation. Until there is some fundamental change and adjustment, both will of course continue the weaponry contest. No persuasive argument, either practical or otherwise, suggests that either one should submit its future to the disposition of the other. On the other hand, it has not been demonstrated that they will not both advance, if not in cooperation at least in relatively common time and compass.

Now consider another area of scientific development. Assume

³ Some of these points have been more fully developed by the writer in the Tenth Thomas M. Cooley Lectures, University of Michigan Law School, to be published by the Law School.

the perfection by American scientists in the United States of improved oral contraceptives. Such a discovery or scientific achievement will be of obvious importance to the many overpopulated areas of the world. It would be fantastic for the United States Government to establish a governmental monopoly, operating with all the secrecy of the Atomic Energy Commission, to control the manufacture and distribution of the drug, agreeing to supply it to nations of the free world but refusing, for example, to supply it to Communist China and perhaps with long debate as to whether it should be granted to "neutral" India. It would be fantastic and stupid. Such a scientific advance should clearly be shared for the common good. In terms of practical steps one could anticipate the utilization of the World Health Organization just as that specialized agency of the United Nations is now cooperating with public and private United States agencies in a grand campaign to eliminate malaria.

Suppose the perfection of low-cost methods of taking salt out of sea water. Secretary of the Interior Seaton maintains that significant progress has already been made along this line. For purposes of illustration, assume the fruition of experiments apparently now only at the threshold of controlling thermonuclear reaction so that nuclear power will be cheap and plentiful. The transformation of the great arid areas of the world into productive lands capable of accommodating huge populations would then be credible.

Now the nation which develops these methods could scarcely keep them a national secret as the atomic bomb was kept. It is the destructive more than the constructive contributions of science which are monopolized in the interests of self-defense, of national interest. Again it would be a stupid policy to deny the world the benefits of the scientific discovery. For if those who acquired the knowledge first, used it wisely and generously for the common good, a national advantage would result, but incidentally, and perhaps not by design. If, on the other hand, they sought to secure a monopolistic advantage, begrudging, defying the universality of scientific knowledge, those who achieved the technique second (and that would not be long) would capitalize politically upon a

generous international policy in a manner utterly devastating to the reluctant pioneer. Devotion to the common good would again prove to be the best policy. If, in Harold Lasswell's phrase, "man also learns to farm the oceans for foodstuffs," this addition to the world's food supply, constantly increased as it is now by new scientific methods of agriculture, coupled with feasible birth control, cheap power, and the provision of abundant new water supplies opening vast new areas to settlements, could provide means of relieving some of the pressures which still find their outlet in domination and expansion.

The timetables are subject to change without notice, but the political scientists and the lawyers and the social scientists and the politicians would be well advised to start on the journey to an area with aspects and problems quite different from those with which we are now trying rather vainly to cope.

If two explorers set forth, one to discover the national interest and the other to discover areas of international unity, where, if ever, would their paths converge? Actually, history shows that they would travel a goodly distance in company with one another. International experience and practice show that the national interest and areas of unity have been found to coincide in many areas. This fact has been registered in multilateral treaties and in international organizations. The list is long, but one may note among the areas of established common international endeavor: prohibition of the slave trade and the traffic in arms; ocean patrols to guard the sea lanes against the danger of icebergs; conservation of the riches of the sea; accumulation and sharing of meteorological data; control of international epidemics and other measures for safeguarding the health of the world; control of the traffic in narcotics, white slavery, and obscene publications. UNESCO registers joint efforts in education, science, and culture. The International Labor Organization is a recognition of the shared interest in the problems of labor. Scarcely any aspect of international communications is omitted in the international organizational arrangements designed to promote the common good. These and many more intergovernmental efforts are supplemented by a vast area of nongovernmental organizations such as the National

Conference on Social Welfare and conferences of parliamentarians, lawyers, doctors, businessmen, physicists, mathematicians, not to mention Olympic athletes and chess players. The whole concept of the United Nations technical assistance program, which enlists the aid of so many of the international organizations, is based on the acceptance of the principle of unity, of the desirability and the practical necessity of cooperating to promote the common good.

Certainly it must be acknowledged that the motivation of most of these international activities is self-interest based upon the recognition that many problems have such international ramifications that they can be solved only by joint efforts; governments participate in such activities because of need and advantage, not out of altruism. It is well that it is so since, however lamentable the fact, need and advantage are more effective stimuli to action.

The problem of today is to ascertain how much more of the field of international relations, particularly in the light of new or pending scientific and technological developments, presents a coincidence of the principle of unity and of the national interest. This is a problem to the solution of which all of us can contribute. We must begin in our schools, in our homes, and in all our organizations to pursue our several courses with a realization of the ultimate purposes of American foreign policy.

So, as I have tried to show, foreign policy begins at home. It is not something remote from us—from you and me. In your own work you are constantly concerned with agencies of government and with the laws under which they act, whether it be in public health, rural development, provision for the unemployed, education, mental hospitals, housing. You are aware of Federal and state responsibilities for welfare financing; you are interested in the way Americans meet the Hungarian refugee crisis; you are concerned with American immigration policy. Surely in these and in many other matters which are your concern you cannot ignore the legislative or the administrative processes of our National Government. Why should your interest or your influence stop with what appear at first glance to be matters of local concern?

Can anyone doubt today that our foreign policy affects and will

affect the freedom of our society, or that this characteristic of our society must affect our foreign policy? Why should you refuse your citizen participation in the decisions which are being made in Washington about our foreign policy? Do not forget there are always interest groups working for or against each measure and that those groups are vocal. A wise and experienced participant in American politics once pointed out that a congressman knows that an organized minority may punish where an unorganized majority will not protect. How will your congressman or senator know that you are interested in foreign policy if you do not tell him?

Many members of Congress now make it a practice to send printed circular letters to their constituents reporting on how they voted and why. Where such letters devote little space to foreign policy, I think you would be surprised at the impact of even a dozen letters or postal cards from back home asking why he pays so little attention to this important aspect of the welfare of the United States. And if in your particular Congressional district there are political dinosaurs or other prehistoric monsters who are not in favor of the reciprocal trade bill, let them know that after that bill passes you are going to ask them what they did to secure its passage. And when you say, "What did you do?" and they say "Nothing," remind them of the whole conversation: "What did you do? Nothing." "Where do you go? Out!"

People often complain that their local newspapers or radios or TV stations carry little foreign news. Many editors or station directors will supply what their readers or listeners want. Probably few, if any, exclude foreign news as a matter of principle in order to keep their community provincial in its outlook. I wonder how many people in such communities, either personally or through their church groups, their service clubs, their social organizations, or other contacts, write or tell their editors that they want daily reports, daily coverage in the news columns, on matters which affect our foreign policy. "Oh," but you say, "I can't individually influence the decision whether or not to have a summit meeting with the Russians; or whether or not to ban nuclear tests; I can't sail a boat out into the middle of the Pacific to stop them from

having these tests." You may argue defensively that you do not have the information which makes it possible for you to have an opinion on what ought to be done. It may well be that when the question at issue is one which touches your own skills and special knowledge in social work you may speak with a louder and more authoritative voice and when the decisions are made you will have the satisfaction of knowing that your own efforts directly contributed to that result. But let me suggest that in these matters there is a sound philosophy in the remark of a great American statesman, Elihu Root, who said, "I think it makes but little difference whether a man gives his life and his service to laying the foundation and building up a structure or whether he is the man who floats a flag on the battlements and cries 'Victory!' "

Now let me return to the source of my theme, George Kennan and his Reith lectures. When he gave his answer to what the average citizen can do in a major aspect of our foreign policy, Kennan said this:

To my own countrymen who have often asked me where best to apply the hand to counter the Soviet threat, I have . . . had to reply: to our American failings—to the things we are ashamed of in our own eyes: to the racial problem, to the conditions in our big cities, to the education and the environment of our young people, to the growing gap between specialized knowledge and popular understanding. . . . I would like to add that these are problems which are not going to be solved by anything we or anyone else does in the stratosphere; if solutions are to be found for them, it will be right here on this familiar earth in the dealings among men and in the moral struggles of the individual.

Whether we like it or not, we are all a part of the American scene, and our foreign policy is equally part of the American scene.

And so, finally, let me remind you of a passage from William Faulkner's *Intruder in the Dust*, asking you to adapt the underlying theme of it to the problem we have been discussing, asking you to let it kindle the fires of your personal interest in foreign policy and in those who make it. This is what Faulkner wrote:

. . . when suddenly he realised that that was a part of it too—that fierce desire that they should be perfect because they were his and he was theirs, that furious intolerance of any one single jot or tittle less

than absolute perfection—that furious almost instinctive leap and spring to defend them from anyone anywhere so that he might excoriate them himself without mercy since they were his own and he wanted no more save to stand with them unalterable and impregnable: one shame if shame must be, one expiation since expiation must surely be but above all one unalterable durable impregnable one: one people one heart one land.⁴

⁴ William Faulkner, *Intruder in the Dust* (New York: Random House, 1948), pp. 209-10.

The Outlook for Community Development

by *ARTHUR DUNHAM*

SOMEONE HAS SAID THAT, in the long view of history, the real distinction of our age may be that this was the era when millions of men and women began to look to the future with hope rather than with apathy or despair. If this is true, it will be due, to a considerable extent, to the economic, social, and humanitarian movement of our times which has come to be called "community development."

"Community development" has been variously defined. In this country the term is sometimes used as roughly equivalent to "community improvement." I would define "community development," particularly as it relates to the newly developing countries, as organized efforts to improve the conditions of community life and the capacity for community integration and self-direction. Community development seeks to work primarily through the enlistment and organization of self-help and cooperative effort on the part of the residents of the community, but usually with technical assistance from governmental or voluntary organizations.

Usually community development includes these four basic elements: (1) a planned program, with a focus on the total needs of the village community; (2) encouragement of self-help; (3) technical assistance, which may include personnel, equipment, and supplies; (4) integration of various specialties, such as agriculture, animal husbandry, public health, education, social work, and so on, to help the community.

Community development is not merely a "program"—it is a

living movement that involves human beings. One recalls Danny Kaye's words: "You can't bring health and happiness to a million children by signing a paper or waving a wand. It has to be done child by child . . ." ¹

I think of a great tent at Hardwar, a Hindu holy city, where the Ganges comes down from the mountains into the plains. The Minister of Community Development is speaking to a conference of administrators and workers. His voice sounds through the tent like a trumpet call: "What are *you* doing to build the community of India?" At the door three or four bright-eyed, ragged little children peep into the tent, unaware that the Sahib Minister is talking about the future of India, and that they and their kind are the future of India.

I recall a group of Filipino men who had helped, by voluntary labor, build the road to a "roadless barrio." The men of the village were busy at their usual jobs all day; but each night, from five o'clock to midnight, a different group worked, voluntarily, building the road; and at midnight they were rewarded by a meal cooked by the women.

Then there is the story of the American who asked an Indian cultivator, "But why did you use the old plow so many hundred years?" And the villager answered, simply: "Sir, we were dead. Now we are alive."

And finally, I remember how we dismounted from the jeep after churning through the dust of what Indians aptly call a "jeepable" road. Here was a little Bengali village of backward "tribal people," at a spot where Lord Clive once fled across the river to escape his enemies. The villagers came forward to meet us, friendly and courteous. "A year ago," said my companion, the official, "these people hid behind trees when they saw us. Now—look! They are beginning to plant kitchen gardens!" Then, as we turned back to the jeep, he added, with a ring of triumph in his voice, "This village is every six months going forward!"

For our purposes, it may be useful to consider three topics: the accomplishments of community development; some of the major

¹ Danny Kaye, Preface, in S. M. Keeny, *Half the World's Children* (New York: Association Press, 1957), p. ix.

operating problems; and, particularly, some of the issues as we look to the future.

Now, it would be ideal if we could assemble a group of community development leaders and ask them to discuss these topics. Since this was not practicable, I sent an outline of my own ideas to a number of national and international administrators, teachers, and students of community development, with an invitation for them to comment. They were asked to comment informally, as individuals, rather than as representatives of their organizations.

I received some forty replies, most of them with substantial and sometimes quite detailed comments. I cannot adequately express my appreciation for the wealth of thinking and experience which these colleagues have made available.² I shall refer to a few of these comments specifically, but this whole discussion will be colored by what I have gained from them.

Perhaps the major accomplishments of community development may be summed up as follows:

1. The idea or concept of community development has emerged as one approach to social and economic problems. The central idea has achieved wide but by no means universal acceptance. Some states emphasize local self-help and cooperation; others lay more emphasis upon planning and direction from the national government. One commentator points out that there are wide differences among the programs of, for example, Jamaica, the Philippines, India, Egypt, British Africa, and Puerto Rico.

There is a central idea, then, but we are still hammering it out on the anvils of ideology and experience.

2. Many concrete results are observable—increase in agricultural productivity; improvement of stock; construction of wells, roads, schoolhouses, health centers; improvements in sanitation and health conditions; literacy classes, village industries, cooperatives, women's programs, youth clubs, etc. These are the most obvious and easily documented aspects of community development.

² Their letters contain much more material than could ever be encompassed in a single paper. Further consideration is being given to the problem of how best to make more of this uniquely valuable material available to those who have a special interest in this subject.

For example, Grace E. Langley, of the U.S. Technical Cooperation Mission to India, in her case study of the Indian program³ quotes figures of arresting size: 272,000 villages covered; 149,000,000 people affected; 53,000 cooperative societies started; 64,000 miles of road constructed; 5,000,000 acres brought under irrigation or reclaimed; and so on.

3. National programs of community development have been organized in a number of countries. Probably there exists nowhere today a complete and accurate inventory of national and local community development programs throughout the world. The two most important United Nations reports on this subject refer to some eighteen different countries or dependencies, representing Latin America and the West Indies, Europe, the Middle East, Africa, and South and Southeast Asia.

4. There are some indications of more basic social-psychological results: development of local initiative, cooperation, responsibility, self-help, and so forth. These results are less clear, less demonstrable, and probably much less widespread than the "concrete" results noted above. Here we are dealing not with buildings and roads and literacy tests, but with the intangibles of the human spirit.

Lucy Brown, of the U.S. International Cooperation Administration, comments:

The pressures are of course on the measuring of concrete results particularly to justify expenditures. It is hard to separate the concrete results from the more basic social psychological results. We are inclined to believe, however, that *unless it does result in development of local initiative, etc., it is not successful community development.* [The italics are not in the original.]

One of the pioneers of community development, Dr. William H. Wiser, recently retired as a director of India Village Service, notes the psychological results of community development:

The Hayatpur farmer walks with a lighter, more confident step—he has seen that his living standard can be improved—he no longer has the same suspicion and distrust of Government officials and outsiders.

³ Grace E. Langley, "Community Development Programme, Republic of India," *Community Development Review*, No. 6, September, 1957, pp. 6-23.

As he requires knowledge and new skills, he becomes personally independent and able to help himself. We have had this goal of personal independence foremost in our program, in the form of one of our slogans: "If the villager has become dependent on us, we have failed!"

5. A large amount of practical know-how has been developed. This is found in a growing literature, in the practices of government departments and organizations, in the knowledge and skills of individuals, even in a kind of community development "folklore" which is beginning to make its appearance.

Among the most important contributions to the literature, aside from the source documents published by various newly developing countries, we would certainly include the publications of the United Nations, particularly *Social Progress through Community Development*, the 1957 *Report on Concepts and Principles of Community Development*, and the excellent *Study Kit on Training*; the quarterly *Community Development Bulletin* of the Community Development Clearing House in London; the reports and bulletins and particularly the *Community Development Review* published by the U.S. International Cooperation Administration; the writings of Murray G. Ross; the two volumes of case studies published by the Russell Sage Foundation; T. R. Batten's highly practical volume, *Communities and Their Development*; and a book closely related to community development which is a sheer delight to read—S. M. Keeny's *Half the World's Children*.

6. A peacetime army of people has emerged, who have worked at community development or consulted, studied, observed, or otherwise learned about it. Some of them have a sense of commitment to the aims of community development which is akin to a religious dedication.

Those who have actually worked on community development jobs include many varieties of officials and workers—national and state planners, "generalist" administrators, subject-matter specialists, "women officers," and local village-level workers. All sorts of training, experience, ability, and concern are represented, from superb qualifications and selfless commitment to laziness and incompetence.

Back of those who are doing the actual work is a "constituency" of supporters in many countries and in international agencies—a group vaguely defined but real. You may meet the members of this international fraternity in New York or Washington; in London, Paris, or Geneva; in Cairo or Karachi, Delhi or Calcutta, Rangoon, Manila, or a thousand other places, from great cities to block headquarters or villages on the edge of the jungle.

Now let us turn to some of the major problems. I am speaking here not of the basic social problems—poverty, sickness, illiteracy, and so on—but rather of the major operating problems which the community development agency and program encounter.

1. High on the list is certainly coordinating the services of various specialized ministries and departments and fitting the community development program satisfactorily into the general framework of public administration. One answer has been to establish a separate ministry or department of community development. H. B. Allen, of the Near East Foundation, comments that when this is done it is likely merely to add one more competitor to the already existing competing ministries.

Under the auspices of the United Nations, Emil Sady has been making a study of community development and public administration; the report of this study will probably shed a good deal of light on these problems of organization and coordination in relation to community development.

2. Another major difficulty is that of changing basic attitudes on the part of the villagers. This is much more difficult and much more important than achieving specific, concrete accomplishments.

An Indian community development administrator expressed an important insight into this problem. He was reading a report on increasing agricultural productivity and he had reached the subject of compost. "The most important problem about compost," he said, "is to make the people manure-minded!"

The changing of attitudes involves some of the most subtle and difficult problems of education. We encounter them often enough in such areas as child development, the reeducation of de-

linquents, and the changing of attitudes in respect to intercultural relations.

Visual aids, demonstration, and participation are important in the battery of educational methods. It is related that the fellaheen in an Egyptian village said to the village worker: "Is it true, as some have said, that the rich water of the Nile is unhealthy?" The worker let them see the rich water of the Nile under a microscope. The fellaheen decided that they needed a pure-water well.

Arthur Goodfriend, in his moving story of community development, *What Can a Man Do?*, pictures a scene where several Indian officials, with an American consultant, have been talking with the villagers about using a new type of seed. At length one farmer hesitatingly agrees. Then,

Our eyes opened in wonder at what happened next. One of the strangers himself helped to plow the hard soil. With his own hands, he sowed the new seed. Never before had such a thing happened. Always we had done the work while officials shouted orders. We began to believe that these men were truly our friends.⁴

3. Another problem is concerned with engendering and maintaining the spirit of self-help and self-reliance. Dr. Carl Taylor expresses the belief that "the basic problem is to keep the government from taking too much initiative and thus stultifying or actually sabotaging the spirit of self-reliance which villagers are beginning to develop."

This is an area of human relations where we need exploration, research, and experimentation. How can we enable people to do the job themselves rather than doing it for them? How can we avoid engendering dependence and a "Santa Claus" or gift-seeking attitude toward government? How can we encourage the maximum degree of self-help and self-reliance and yet give the necessary help, the necessary facilitation, to make the self-help effective?

4. A related problem is the discovery and development of progressive local leadership in the villages.

⁴ Arthur Goodfriend, *What Can a Man Do?* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Young, 1952), pp. 26, 29.

As we drove up to one village, the community development official worker observed, "This is a very progressive village." "Why is it progressive?" I asked. "Largely because of two men," was the answer. "This man coming toward us across the fields is the president of the panchayat and the leader of the village. His brother is the leader of the youth club and he teaches a literacy class here and another one in an adjoining village. These two men have been the leaders."

At an Indian community development conference there was a unique puppet show on the subject of the education of panchayat members. It struck me that the Indians were one up on us, in using puppets to illustrate board member education and the development of local leadership.

5. Another aspect of the problem of leadership is the difficulty of obtaining creative, dynamic, imaginative leaders in the administration of community development. I have met leaders of this sort. I think of a North Indian official whose whole personality breathed enthusiasm and the spirit of this movement to which he was so deeply committed. There is the other type of administrator too—bogged down with paperwork, seeing no further than the distribution of bags of fertilizer and the collection of statistics and reports. These officials are doing their jobs faithfully but unimaginatively, most of them—but routine, run-of-the-mine administration is not enough for this new and still highly experimental program.

Of course this problem is no new one. How many religious movements have been started to "restore primitive Christianity" or to breathe new freshness and purity into stagnant institutional systems! A few decades pass, the new movement itself becomes institutionalized, and it finds itself facing the same question: How can we preserve in an organized program the freshness and vitality of a new and youthful movement? How can a program avoid institutional hardening of the arteries? The answer is unusually important for community development.

And now, more specifically, what is the outlook for community development?

Let us select six issues for brief exploration. These six issues

might be said to deal primarily with "internal" factors; they do not involve another whole set of political and international issues, such as the relation of United States foreign policy to technical assistance and community development; the financing of community development; or the relationships between international and unilateral programs, or between outside agencies and national governments, or between governmental and voluntary agencies.

1. The first issue goes to the root of community development. It is the fundamental dilemma which has been so ably discussed by T. R. Batten: shall programs be based on the people's "felt needs" or on agency targets? ⁵ This problem was highlighted by the troubled village-level worker who inquired in the training class, "But sir, how can we make sure that the people have the *right* felt needs?"

Albert Mayer speaks of three criteria for the early projects in community development in which he was involved: "(1) The people must want it. (2) We must know how to do it—and be able to get requisite supplies. (3) Results must be visible fairly soon."

Mr. Mayer further observes that:

After the early introductory stage, the question of felt need becomes more complex. The people on the plane of formulation tend to run out of them temporarily, or we may . . . find that we may not have the ability to meet them . . . or it may be beyond the power of our agency or our branch of government. Thus for one of these reasons or a mixture of them, the second stage is the "induced felt need"—i.e., the felt need resulting from the interaction of the people and the agency. The dogma is of course that we democratically keep following the people's wishes, but I think this is naïve.

Students and practitioners of community organization will gather that "enabling" versus "manipulation" is an issue in newly developing countries as well as in the United States.

Mr. Mayer continues:

A third stage may later be reached where the people have themselves such power of formulation, of self-discipline and understanding of available resources, that the initiative passes back completely to them.

⁵ T. R. Batten, *Communities and Their Development* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957).

This is, I believe, never fully reached, but the pendulum can swing that way in much greater degree with the passing of the years.

Charles Alspach, working for the United Nations in Pakistan, observes that "elimination of an epidemic need not await full acceptance by all members of the community, but enlisting the understanding of the local leaders and council will be useful for success."

Dr. William Wiser adds a bit of evidence from his long experience:

When improvements such as sanitation have been introduced before the villagers have become aware of this need, there has almost always been disappointment as the lanes revert to their muddy, unswept condition and the latrines remain unused. When people, of necessity, have accustomed themselves to half-health, they do not understand our feeling of urgency in securing optimum health. But if improved latrines, soakage pits and protected wells come when villagers really want them and know why they need them they will come to stay.

There are many who say a program built on felt needs is a waste of time in a country whose population increases so rapidly. We believe no time is wasted if it is spent in making the villager aware of the changes which he himself can bring about.

These quotations reveal the conflict and highlight the issue, even if they do not resolve it. The comments that I have received seem to add up to something like this: We believe in basing a program on the people's felt needs. We want it to be a democratic, grass-roots program, not something imposed from above. We believe in educating rather than ordering people or "pushing them around." Yet, in all honesty, we find that the realities of operating a governmental program, accounting for results, and keeping up the necessary support tend at times to push us into compromises with our ideals and with our democratic philosophy.

2. What is the future of community development as a program? How can the program be kept going effectively, for the long, slow pull, after the novelty wears off? How long, generally, should the intensive period of community development extend? What should happen after the intensive period?

Those who comment on this question agree on one point: community development is a long-time job.

A thoughtful comment is made by Sushil K. Dey, of the Food and Agriculture Organization:

Community development is a special therapy for the more vulnerable and backward groups and areas of a nation. Its object is to stimulate their self-confidence and, on that basis, to accelerate their progress toward assimilation into the broader stream of national growth. Consequently, the greater the success of community development in this sense, the less need will there be for its continuation as a special treatment. It may be regarded as a self-liquidating process. To look upon it otherwise would be to create new vested interests, of which the extreme manifestation can be seen even now in the attitudes of those who advocate local self-sufficiency. It is important to guard against the growth of local patriotisms and autarchic tendencies.

Carl Taylor also questions the concept of an "intensive" followed by a "postintensive" period. He suggests, rather, pilot projects with enough government assistance really to "stimulate the people through the process of proving that things can happen if the people will involve themselves in the undertaking." He adds: "The program should grow steadily more intensive as the villages become more inspired, have greater proof of their self-help undertakings' results, and therefore have greater confidence in themselves."

Incidentally, two points of view about the essential nature of the community development program emerge from these comments. One commentator says flatly: "I believe . . . that improvement of economic base must be the core of community development. Without it the program becomes flabby or fancy, and above all unless we substantially improve that base we cannot afford the superstructure of civic works, sanitation, adult education, etc." Another says with equal conviction: "I would see community development in the main as an educational adventure, fundamental to the strengthening of a stagnant, disintegrating, or disillusioned society, and only secondarily as a means toward economic development."

3. Should the interprofessional character of community development be maintained indefinitely? Or should it ultimately become agricultural extension or adult education or something else, handled, for the most part, by one professional group?

The commentators on this point pretty well agree that the interprofessional character of community development should be preserved. For example, E. N. Burke says:

The interprofessional character of community development should be maintained. Its leaders should not allow it to become a part of agricultural extension, health extension, educational extension, or even adult education. It should include all these but should not be absorbed by any one. It should be an interpreter of these.

Dr. Wiser speaks of the need for an "all-of-life" approach.

Mukdim Osmay, of the International Labour Organization, observes that while community development may start from a project of agricultural extension, health education, and so forth, the ultimate objective should be to have several services combine to operate an integrated program based on felt needs.

My own comments on this issue and the foregoing one are these:

First, I believe that community development is a long-time job. We are deluding ourselves if we think of it in terms of five or ten years. The existing conditions have been building up for centuries. These conditions and, even more important, the attitudes relating to them, are not going to be transformed overnight.

Second, I doubt that we know enough to be dogmatic about the necessity for, or the length of, intensive and postintensive periods. This seems to be an area where further research and experimentation are needed and, probably, also a good deal of flexibility of policy and administration.

Third, I believe the interprofessional character of community development should be maintained. I was encouraged recently to find that some of the leading educators in agricultural extension in this country are clearly recognizing community development as something larger than, and different from, agricultural extension. Agricultural extension is of enormous importance to community development, but I agree that it is not the whole of this movement that extends to virtually every aspect of village life.

Fourth, even though community development should be interprofessional rather than be absorbed by one specialized discipline,

it does not follow that community development should be organized into a separate line ministry or department. Indeed, it will probably fare better, in most cases, as a coordinating or staff agency, working with the various specialized agencies but not threatening them as a competitor.

Fifth, the continuance of community development as an inter-professional agency suggests that the use of a multipurpose worker at or near the village level will probably be necessary or desirable. Patterns of organization will undoubtedly vary from country to country. The United Nations study of community development and public administration should be valuable here.

4. What kind of training is needed for community development administrators? Are we likely to have the emergence of a new profession focused on general community improvement? Would this be desirable? If so, what should be the equipment of such professionals?

Carl Taylor responds clearly and vigorously to this question:

All I can say is that I hope we do not have to assume a new breed of cats called community developers. I have, during my whole professional career, insisted that rural sociologists, for instance, did not have a field that was theirs and theirs alone. In the Department of Agriculture, I said that we do not stake out any pasture and say this is ours, but we, at the same time, say we belong in every pasture in which agriculture is working, alongside the other technical people. Our know-how needs to be a part of every project they are working on.

A representative of S. K. Dey, the Indian Minister of Community Development, advocates that "the 'generalist' administrators should be given reorientation and in-service training." He believes that it is neither likely nor desirable that a new profession focused on general community improvement should emerge.

M. Josephine R. Albano, of the Pan-American Union, makes the thoughtful suggestion that we need to distinguish stages in community development and in the relation of the worker, whether technician or village worker, to the community. That is, she suggests, his role may change "from stimulator to organizer to facilitator to resource to consultant." She adds the intriguing question: "Is there a permanent professional role, like that of

teacher or minister, social worker or public health officer, which should be envisaged as part of the normal personnel of a community or a group of communities?"

It seems to me that there probably is a need for a considerable number of persons, at an administrative (line or staff) level, who are consciously trained to give leadership in general community development. I think we get such persons occasionally today, chiefly by accident and not because any institution has a fully developed training plan for producing them. It may sound like an Irish bull to say that we need a specialist in general community development. Basically, the kind of person I am thinking of ought to know a good deal about generic community organization, rural sociology, and adult education. In addition, he ought to know more than either the adult education worker or the community organization worker usually knows about various aspects of community life as different as agriculture, public health, education, housing, and public administration:

Obviously, this person cannot be an expert in half a dozen content areas; but he might learn to find his way around in each of them; to understand basic concepts, objectives, and resources; to be able to give directly certain types of help and consultation, to recognize situations which are beyond his competence, and in those cases to help community residents connect up with other more technical resources.⁶

I suspect we could use to advantage today somewhere between 5,000 and 10,000 men and women with this sort of training. India alone has more than 500,000 villages. Theoretically, if one community development specialist were used for each "block" (100 villages), 5,000 would be needed for that one country, to say nothing of their use on state development staffs or in training institutions.

If we had a community development specialist of this sort, he would not necessarily be the head of the team at the administrative regional level. For one thing, in many cases he would probably not have as much experience in administration as a seasoned

⁶ Arthur Dunham, *Community Welfare Organization, Principles and Practice* (New York: Crowell, 1958), p. 257. Some material in the pages that follow is quoted or paraphrased from this same source.

public administration worker or as many other members of the team. In the main, the community development specialist might probably better be a staff assistant to the administrator—not quite comparable to other subject-matter specialists but concerned rather with planning, coordination, and facilitation of general program development. His job might have some similarities to that of the Indian social education organizer, but it should be much more clearly defined.

5. What should be the contribution of social work and social workers to community development?

The available evidence seems to indicate that, thus far, in general, and with some individual exceptions, social work has not contributed much to community development. There are reasons for this. In the first place, there are not many qualified social workers in newly developing countries. Of this qualified group, only a fraction are oriented to, or primarily interested in, community development. Many of them are interested primarily in casework or group work and in urban rather than rural communities. Moreover, neither the social workers nor anyone else (with the exception of Charles Schottland⁷) appears to have been clear or articulate about the nature of the contribution which social workers have to make.

Let me state three convictions on this subject:

First, I believe that social work has an important and positive contribution to make to community development. Both are concerned with enabling people to live wholesome and abundant lives. Both deal with problems of individuals, groups, and communities. Both are based on beliefs in the worth and dignity of the individual, of self-determination, and of self-help. So much of the knowledge and so many of the skills and attitudes of social work are so directly applicable to community development that it would be unbelievably poor judgment to ignore or discard this professional contribution in a movement that needs all the help and all the know-how that it can muster.

⁷See Charles I. Schottland, "Community Development—a Challenge to Social Workers," in *Community Organization, 1958* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), pp. 5-17.

Second, I believe social work's primary contribution should be to the program as a whole rather than to a special subject-matter sector of the program, comparable to agriculture, animal husbandry, public health, home economics, and so on.

Third, community organization appears to be the process of social work which is most closely related to social work's contribution to community development. A social worker with good generic social work training and with a broad specialization in community organization should have a valuable contribution to make. His skill in helping people develop democratic social welfare programs is directly applicable or adaptable to community development, with all that programming implies in fact-finding, community surveys, analysis, planning, conference, committee operation, consultation, organization, interpretation, project administration, and recording. At the moment, there is a relatively small proportion of social workers who have this sort of equipment, either in the United States, in other Western countries, or in newly developing areas.

Community welfare organization in American cities and community development in Asian or African villages look very different, at first glance. But there is more in common than appears at this first casual glance. If we say that community organization is concerned with meeting community needs and if we follow Charles Hendry's suggestion and broaden the idea of balancing needs and resources to extend to *all* community needs—not merely needs labeled “social welfare”—we begin to see this more generalized community organization as being pretty close to community development.⁸ If we add to this Murray Ross's idea of community organization's concern with the strengthening and integrating of the community, we have another similarity of aims and method between community organization and community development. Actually, it seems to me that there is great similarity between generic community organization and community development. Perhaps the major differences are that community

⁸ Charles E. Hendry, “The Contribution of Community Organization to the Raising of Standards of Living in Under-developed Areas of the World,” in *Social Service and the Standards of Living* (Bombay: International Conference of Social Work, 1952), p. 118.

development has had more preoccupation with the economic aspects of community life than has been usual with what we have called community organization; that community development is usually (though not always) a local manifestation of a national program; and that community development has made more explicit the concepts of self-help and integrated technical assistance.

If we agree that the properly equipped social worker has a contribution to make, there is still the question as to where he should be used in the community development program. There are at least two possibilities. If we begin to produce community development specialists of the type which I mentioned above, the social worker may fuse his professional training with this new specialty or add the non-social work elements in this type of training to his own professional education. If this new type of professional does not materialize, the social worker may serve as a subject-matter specialist, in respect to community organization and social welfare; he may serve on administrative staffs and in training schools for community development workers. Typically, the social worker in community development will probably be a consultant and teacher rather than a line administrator or practitioner.

Contrary to some of the comments which I have received, I believe that social workers should be inside the governmental community development programs and not merely outside, fluttering around the edges, in "cooperating agencies." Social work has a unique and valuable role to play in this movement. The sooner it gets into action on a substantial basis, the better.

6. To what extent can experience with rural community development be applied or adapted to urban community development?

The comments which I have received may be summarized as follows: (1) This is an important question. (2) No one is sure of the answer. (3) Rural community development cannot be merely applied wholesale to cities. There *are* differences in the environments and conditions. (4) Nevertheless, there are some indications that community development may be adapted and applied to the service of certain types of urban communities. (5) Experi-

mentation with urban community development, or certain aspects of it, is under way in a number of places—India, Pakistan, Jamaica, Hong Kong, Tanganyika, Singapore, and so on.

I believe that certain concepts of rural community development may be applicable in greater or less degree to urban communities—and these may include certain urban communities in the United States and other Western countries as well as in newly developing areas. These concepts appear to be:

a) First is the emphasis on the unity of community life and the need for an approach to the total community life. We have frequently tended in community organization to slice the community into segments artificially labeled "government," "economic life," "education," "health," "housing," "welfare," "recreation," and so on. These are useful and necessary categories for important purposes, and yet people do not live in these functional pigeonholes. So perhaps we can make a more integrated approach to diagnosis, planning, and program development for the urban community as well as for the village.

b) The second concept is that of the use of the interdisciplinary team in the service of the community. Can we apply this to the urban community more explicitly than we have usually done in the past?

c) The idea of the multipurpose worker may be applicable or adaptable to urban communities. Some of our neighborhood workers and block workers (for district councils, settlements, and urban leagues) have had something of this quality already. There is also the possibility of the new type of community development specialist for the urban community as well as for rural areas. This would not be the traditional city planner; the requirements would imply more knowledge of certain areas outside the usual limits of conventional city planning, and more intimate concern with community and group process and democratic program development.

d) The fourth concept is self-help. Perhaps this can be adapted and carried into effect more forthrightly than it has usually been in the past in city settings. Here is a fascinating area for research and experimentation, on one of the very frontiers of democracy.

A good deal of evidence is already available: from community councils in small communities and district and neighborhood councils in larger cities; from accounts like those in Elmore McKee's *The People Act*; ⁹ from the records of consumers cooperatives; from some of the adventures in urban renewal, like those of Friends Neighborhood Guild, Philadelphia; and from consumer-initiated or consumer-directed movements like Alcoholics Anonymous, Recovery, and the movement for retarded children.

It is possible that urban community development will prove to be appropriate particularly for certain types of communities, such as refugee and other resettlement communities, mushroom growths caused by defense industries or otherwise, areas of urban renewal, and underdeveloped or disorganized urban and fringe communities or neighborhoods.

George F. Davidson, President of the International Conference of Social Work, points out that at Tokyo a study group will consider "focal points for community planning and action in urban and rural areas—community councils, community centers, and other forms of community organization."

And George Rabinoff stresses that:

International welfare is a two-way street, . . . we in this country have much to learn from the rest of the world. Margaret Mead and her anthropology colleagues went to Samoa and other primitive countries in the early decades of this century to study the simple patterns of human life and civilization. Do we have the same opportunity now to study community organization in simpler and less complicated settings, from which we can derive experience applicable to our own needs, both in terms of the less developed sections of our country, and also for principles that might have wider application in normal community organization and planning?

Community development is not a magic or a road to Utopia. It is not wholly new, though it has some new emphases and approaches. It has had failures as well as successes. It has weaknesses and defects, and scores of unanswered questions. It will not solve all our social problems. It must obviously be fitted into broad national programs of social development which must grapple

⁹ Elmore M. McKee, *The People Act* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955).

with such nationwide problems as power, communication, land reform, the relation of population to subsistence, and many others.

Yet when all this is said, it is still true (to quote an American group speaking on international social welfare policy) that:

The community development approach relies upon the power of democracy to call forth man's best creative energies. It offers a practical way of reaching hundreds of millions of people quickly in ways that will turn their frustration and unrest into faith in themselves and their fellowmen. [In the words of Henry Garland Bennett] "By joining hands together we can win this fight in this generation . . . to live together in peace, to feed and clothe and house and educate and bring health to all people everywhere."¹⁰

¹⁰ U.S. Interdepartmental Committee on International Social Welfare Policy, *An Approach to Community Development* (Washington, D.C.: Federal Security Agency, 1952; mimeographed), p. 4.

Federal and State Responsibilities for Welfare Financing

I. by *FRANK BANE*

THE MAJOR POLITICAL QUESTION in the United States—and I use “political” in its larger, scientific sense—is the relationship between the National Government and the states. This was the case in the beginning, in 1789. It is true now and it will be for a long time to come.

At each major turning point in our history, stresses and strains on the sinews of the Federal system have been acute at the time. Sometimes they have seemed unbearable. But our national genius for nondogmatic solutions has sustained the major tenets of our democratic, federal approach, permitting us to achieve a viable equilibrium.

We arrived at these equilibriums largely because of two forces. There were tough-minded, articulate advocates, battling valiantly and ably for immediate, national adoption of the goal of equality of opportunity for Americans through central governmental action. There were eloquent and impressive proponents, on the other hand, who strove mightily and effectively to attain greater decentralization of government, and who fought for the values of the federal type of system. Both sides were equally sincere, equally earnest, equally convinced that the fate of civilization, as we knew it, hinged upon adoption of their own views. Each side attempted, therefore, to define its proposals as the most proper, the most meaningful solutions for their times.

At the level of concrete action in a democracy, basic values are always in conflict. It is out of this conflict, out of this debate,

resolved by political decisions, that we have seen workable accomplishments take place. And they could only have occurred within this solid framework of free, forthright debate because each side pressed fervently for the end to which it was dedicated.

For the past nine months I have been associated with a responsible group of public officials, from both the state and Federal governments, working together as the Joint Federal-State Action Committee. This committee, a group of Federal officials appointed by the President and a group of governors appointed by the chairman of the Governors' Conference, is taking advantage of the unique opportunity afforded by our Federal system to shape social forces to our own ends rather than to bow mechanically before them. This committee seeks to find the proper relationships in this day and age of functions and finances among the various levels of government.

The Federal representatives and the committee of ten governors, who come from all parts of the nation and represent different points of view, agreed on a basic purpose: to reenforce the responsibility, authority, and fiscal capacity of the state level of government.

The basic theory has been that if the state governments are strong and responsive, they are effective in the Federal system, and the Federal system itself is alive and significant. One of the reasons is that American federalism means experimentation in policies and administration; new ideas and new programs spring up; they are tested in the states, and they rise or fall as their experience is evaluated in the states. American federalism, moreover, means a belief in self-government, in the responsibility of the individual citizen for initiative, for decisions, for action, on local public issues. It means that the policies and administration of government are closely related to the regional and local differences which enrich our society and sustain our culture.

Within our Federal system we have a resilient flexibility which permits functions to be assigned in response to public needs. Thus an activity, formerly local in nature, may require national action for emergency purposes and be assigned to a national program. Another function may require combined national, state, and

local action, in what we have labeled "cooperative federalism." Or a function assumed at the Federal level at one time may have served its stimulative purpose and now could be returned to state or local governments. Still another activity may require Federal participation, but the degree of this participation may be altered—either up or down.

During this postwar period realization has grown—and has been emphasized as never before—that failure of state or local governments to perform necessary functions inevitably tends to centralize power and functions in the National Government. Too often in the past state and local governments have not exercised their full responsibilities, have not responded quickly enough to modern needs, as our nation has become urbanized, more complex, its component parts more interrelated.

But in this postwar period there has been a dramatic resurgence and revitalization of state and local government. Measured in dollars and cents, or in the services rendered by the states to their citizens, or in the greater efficiency of state administrative organization, the states have given and are giving concrete evidence of their will and ability to meet the major domestic problems of our day.

Let me be specific and detail a few statistics from 1946 to 1956:

The states alone increased from \$1 billion to \$4 billion their expenditures for elementary and secondary education.

They expanded the costs for the care and treatment of patients in mental hospitals from \$167 million to \$662 million.

They raised highway expenditures from \$1 billion to \$5.4 billion.

Total expenditures of state governments have mounted to a record high of approximately \$17.4 billion—including borrowing but excluding Federal grants and unemployment compensation.

The states have enacted new taxes and increased and widened existing taxes until (in 1957) they obtained in tax revenue alone approximately \$14.5 billion as compared with \$6 billion in 1947. An additional \$2.9 billion is raised by borrowing and by certain proprietary enterprises and trust funds.

Movement has not only taken place on the financial side. The states have improved their organizational structures to meet the requirements of a modern, rapidly changing era.

On the legislative side:

Thirty-six states now have active legislative councils for systematic research and discussion of policy problems.

Twenty-five state legislatures have specialized staffs to assist appropriations and finance committees.

Fourteen states and three territories now have annual sessions of their legislatures.

Bill-drafting services, statutory codification and law revision, and legislative reference services are expanding among all the states.

In the last ten years twenty-six states have reapportioned their legislatures.

On the executive side:

The states have made great improvements in their capacity to manage large and complex operations.

Approximately forty states established little Hoover Commissions in the last ten years to reorganize their administrative systems and make them more effective.

The states have progressed in executive responsibility, systematic budgeting, proper planning and coordination, and purposeful consolidation of related activities.

Professional and scientific personnel of high caliber in many fields have been recruited and are being retained.

Operating procedures are being improved markedly as modern electronic devices are more widely employed.

On the judicial side:

More than half of the states have effectively functioning judicial councils and conferences.

In just the last few years sixteen states have provided for full-time court administrative officers.

State court systems are being simplified, and the chief justice is becoming an effective head of the state's judicial system.

The trial and appeal process has been expedited in recent years and the cost of litigation reduced.

This catalogue of developments in the states is not cited as evidence that state government has solved all its problems or that serious deficiencies do not call for correction. Among major problems that require attention now, if the states are to contribute fully to the operation of the Federal system, I would list these needs: (1) reapportionment and redistricting of various state legislatures for greater equality of representation; (2) revision and modernization of many outdated constitutions and constitutional provisions; (3) greater extension of home rule to localities; (4) increased attention to urban and metropolitan problems; (5) modernization of tax and fiscal policies now obsolete; and (6) the attraction and retention of more top-quality administrative talent on a career basis.

But the record does testify, impressively, to the strength, initiative, and responsibility of the states. In considering functions and finances in Federal-state relations, the Joint Federal-State Action Committee had before it evidence of the capacity and willingness of the states to undertake their obligations and pay for their own services.

Another major development was central to the considerations of the Joint Committee, a development of such magnitude as to involve the survival of free society. It concerned the urgent international obligations which the United States has assumed as the major power of the free world. As never before, the National Government needs to concentrate its thought, time, and energy on problems of defense, diplomacy, foreign aid, and scientific progress.

This convergence of vastly expanded international obligations on the Federal side and the evident stirring in the states increases the case for using to the fullest extent the potential benefits of a truly federal system. In such a system we—all of us—can assign responsibilities as *we* determine. The Joint Committee accepted its responsibility to give leadership in this matter; it has suggested recommendations for assignment and reassignment of functions and finances in the light of our present situation.

Some years ago Adlai Stevenson, then Governor of the state of Illinois, discussed with me at some length the relation of the

states to the National Government. He later had occasion to write the following in a national magazine:

We can only keep Washington within reasonable limits and prevent it from becoming the Leviathan we fear by paddling vigorously against the stream whenever and wherever we can. If we don't, we shall cast ourselves in the role of Dr. Frankenstein and eventually end in his same unhappy predicament.

It is for these reasons that I look upon the states as having a new and increasingly critical importance. They represent one of the dikes which we can build more strongly against the flood waters sweeping towards the District of Columbia. They give us some room within which we can work to check the migration of governmental power and function to Washington. They afford us an opportunity which, instead of neglecting, we should seize upon and exploit with all the vigor and talent and imagination we have.¹

Nothing is easier in the field of Federal-state relations than to speculate philosophically on the respective roles of the various levels of government. On the other hand, nothing is more difficult than to attempt to spell out recommendations for assignment or reassignment in specific areas. As is ever the case, interested groups are willing to modify or alter relationships in fields other than their own; but when it concerns a subject matter close to their own hearts, not even divine intervention is permissible without great and heavy protest. This the Joint Committee was aware of, but it knew that major studies in this realm have been made and it felt it was now time to suggest some specific, small, first steps which might be taken to strengthen state government and the Federal system.

I want to emphasize, however, that in none of the recommendations was there any suggestion that the programs involved in them were not worth while or that they should not be continued. The committee held that the quality of the programs should not be impaired. It did not conceive its work as an exercise in budget-cutting or in reversing the social or economic progress of recent decades. Rather, there was a unanimous feeling that the programs in question could be enriched by diversified administration, that

¹ Adlai Stevenson, "The States: Bulwark against 'Big Government,'" *Look*, XVI, No. 12 (June 3, 1952), 118.

they could be handled in many ways even more effectively and responsively, and that the states and localities should and could obtain the resources to finance them.

In its initial progress report, made in December of 1957, the Joint Committee recommended complete transfer of two existing programs to the states. These are vocational education and the construction of waste treatment facilities. In both instances, the committee believed that these programs now could be undertaken by the states. The states were urged to strengthen, where necessary, their vocational education and water pollution control programs, and to assist their local governments in providing the financial resources where required.

A third recommendation dealt with increasing the degree of participation by states and localities in financing Federal, state, and local cooperative programs. This meant assuming an increased state responsibility for natural disaster relief and for establishing disaster emergency funds in the states.

A fourth recommendation called for increased state responsibility in the peacetime use of atomic energy, and a fifth held that the states should become more heavily concerned with, and active in, urban renewal programs. It was recommended that each state create an agency with special responsibility for handling problems of urban development, housing, and metropolitan planning. These state efforts were not to be considered as substitutes for Federal programs, but rather as additions to the total governmental investment.

One of the areas discussed by the committee involves small stimulative grants. The committee felt that from time to time Federal grants to the states are helpful in stimulating programs to meet a national emergency, or to further a strong national objective. But it commended a number of guiding principles for consideration when proposals for such grants are made. First, there should be careful selectivity; second, a clear-cut national interest should exist; third, built-in terminal mechanisms should be provided; and fourth, there should be maximum flexibility and administrative control by the states and localities.

These recommendations for increasing financial, functional,

and administrative responsibilities of the states, the committee believed, should be accompanied by an expansion of tax revenue sources available to the states to carry out the programs involved. The committee did not feel that particular taxes should be dedicated to particular functions assumed, but rather that there should be a general relationship between taxes released and functions undertaken by the states.

The committee recommended that 40 percent of the Federal tax on local telephone service be credited to those states which enact a new or additional 4 percent local telephone tax. At the end of five years the Federal tax would be reduced four percentage points automatically.

The proposed release of Federal revenue from the telephone tax and the assumption of Federal functions by states raise, of course, a major, obvious problem, and one that will continue: How do we contend with the problem of equalization? Grants-in-aid are generally made on a formula basis, usually involving population and income. Therefore, on the average, they benefit to a relatively greater extent low-income states as against those with higher incomes. On the other hand, release of Federal tax revenues—any tax revenues—when examined on a state-by-state basis, naturally benefits the higher income states to a greater degree than those with lower per capita income. This means that while, in the aggregate, there may be a fairly equal relationship between functions to be assumed and taxes to be released, in individual cases the differences may be substantial.

The Joint Committee has been and is concerned with this problem and has studies of possible solutions under way. Let me only indicate now that it is not a simple matter of balancing two sets of figures in two columns. Rather it involves such major factors as: (1) the location and relocation of industries throughout the nation; (2) the role of the Federal income tax; (3) the distribution pattern of Federal expenditures; (4) the real measurements of fiscal capacities of the various states.

These factors relate directly to the problem of equalization and must be included in a total analysis of it. Obviously, Federal grants are not the only ways and means to equalization, and the

pursuit of equalization does not require that we embrace every grant-in-aid as a necessity of democracy. In connection with the particular programs recommended for transfer to the states, the amounts involved, by and large, are relatively small and can be absorbed by the states as first steps. This may become even more readily accomplished, in terms of available revenue, if a number of Federal excise taxes are cut as part of a countercyclical effort.

The committee also identified a series of problems which it labeled "emerging." These are existing problems which loom increasingly important as governmental responsibilities. They involve major social and economic questions which state governments, in particular, will need to weigh and answer. Included among them are the results of expanding population pressures, rapid urbanization, intense demands for higher education, widespread needs and uses for water, problems of mental health, old age, migratory farm labor, law enforcement.

Too often in the past, hesitation and lack of action by state governments on emerging problems such as these have led to administration at a higher level. Too often it was the inequities, the failure to perform necessary functions adequately, which made for transfers of power and functions, with consequent impairment of rights. We do the cause of the states no great service when we insist on their rights without insisting equally on the exercise of their responsibilities. This is where the Joint Committee has made a telling contribution. It is providing guidance to what the states can and should do and do better. We are convinced that the states, to a greater extent than ever, will be able to cope with emerging problems of this magnitude.

Of course, some of these areas will require, also, the participation of the Federal Government. Such participation may call for financial stimulation, or it may mean an expansion in Federal research and technical assistance. It could even mean substantial financial investment. But if Federal action is required, it should follow careful deliberation by Federal and state representatives, and should not develop out of passive drift or public lethargy. We hope that, through the discussions and recommendations of the Joint Committee on these emerging problems, we can develop

an effective procedure for suggesting the most useful distribution of responsibilities among the various levels of government.

It is a familiar observation that we talk a lot about the weather but do not do much about it. But in recent years this popular adage has lost a considerable amount of its validity. We are doing something about the weather. Similarly, we have spent a lot of time talking about the growth of a monolithic National Government, and we are now attempting to do something about it. If we as individuals, if the National Government and the states, adopt programs in line with the recommendations of the Joint Committee, and move forward with them, a milestone will be established in the movement to sustain and enhance the key role of the states in the Federal system. And our action will, I believe, greatly strengthen the Federal system itself.

In concluding the report on Federal-state relations for the Hoover Commission in 1947 I wrote:

Throughout our history two major problems and questions have been cast in bold relief—

How can the United States maintain and strengthen the American type of democracy—a democracy based upon individual liberty, extensive participation of people in government and control of government by the people? At the same time, how can government be the servant of the people, provide the necessary services which people increasingly demand and will have, and upon which the American standard of living depends?

These are not problems that can be solved by the states; nor can they be solved by the national government. Their solution requires co-operation and teamwork on the part of the states and the national government, with understanding and support from the people at large. These questions and problems will not be easy to solve. Democratic government is a complicated mechanism but never has there been greater need for citizen interest in government and citizen participation in government. More than 25 per cent of our national income, of the work and productive energy of all of our people, is expended in the support of the joint enterprise that we call government.

Upon the wise and statesmanlike operation of this gigantic enterprise—the American government—depends the welfare of all of the American people and the safety and security of the world.

I do not think I can conclude any better in 1958.

So—we will let it rest there!

II. *by HERMAN M. SOMERS*

ONE CANNOT wisely deal with Federal-state fiscal relations in social welfare without reference to the total relationships of different levels of government. Consequently, my remarks will encompass matters extending beyond the borders of social welfare but, I trust, not irrelevant to it.

The three levels of American government—local, state, and national—do not represent distinct, autonomous, or balkanized systems. They are interdependent and essential parts of the American system of federal government. American constitutional development and the national experience which shapes the Constitution have made it clear, in law and in fact, that the nation's security and welfare and its system of government are indivisible.

With only limited and inescapable exceptions, largely related to international affairs, functional and fiscal responsibilities have never been rigidly compartmentalized. The founding fathers and later constitutional evolution recognized the necessity of permitting the relationship among the component parts of the American system to remain flexible in order to meet changing local and national requirements, but with the over-all national interest always supreme.

The system wisely permits each generation to determine in what way it can best deal with its needs and demands within the bounds of constitutional liberties. The people of the United States are empowered to alter, and have in fact continuously used this right to revise, the manner in which they employ the capacities of their various levels of government to serve their welfare in accordance with shifting circumstances. The record indicates they have, on the whole, used these powers cautiously, wisely, and in a balanced manner.

With steadily accelerating urbanization, rapidly advancing technology and industrialization, free mobility of a growing population, and increased economic interdependence, the entire system

of government and all its parts have had to assume additional functions and responsibilities. To meet these expansions, which we may well expect to continue, the American people have more and more relied upon joint and cooperative action among all levels of government. It has been recognized that to achieve the maximum goal of public welfare, there is need to utilize the services and the resources of every level of government in every part of the nation, *working together*. What has thus emerged is a system frequently referred to as "cooperative federalism." We have not made progress through "separatism."

Those who allege that the National Government has grown at the expense of other levels of government appear to assume that government has a fixed bundle of powers and functions and, therefore, an increase in any one segment automatically means a decrease for the others. This is contrary to our experience. New functions, new responsibilities, and expansion of the old have caused rapid burgeoning of all levels of government. The growth of the National Government has not come at the expense of other levels. Except in matters of international relations and national defense—responsibilities inescapably centered at the national level—all levels of government have become bigger, more important, and endowed with augmented responsibility.

The allegation that governmental functions have become concentrated in, and operated out of, Washington is not supported by the facts. The total number of state and local government employees, about 5.5 million, is far more than twice the number of all civilian employees of the National Government, and over five times the number employed by the National Government in nondefense functions. This remains true even if the state and local government employees engaged on a part-time basis are counted only in full-time equivalents. State employees alone, practically all engaged in nondefense activities, numbering well over 1.325 million, are far more numerous than the total employed by the National Government in all nondefense activities. Moreover, employees of state and local governments have been multiplying far more rapidly than National Government employees.

Measured by nondefense expenditures, it is obvious that states

and localities have enlarged their functions and activities. The proportion of all public expenditures accounted for by states and local governments has been increasing. In 1956 total state and local expenditures exceeded the amount spent on national defense and almost doubled the amount spent on all nondefense purposes by the National Government. The states alone spend almost as much as national expenditures for all nondefense purposes.

Lest it be thought that national grants-in-aid are the explanation of these state figures, it should be noted that such grants for all purposes represented in 1956 less than 13 percent of state expenditures and only 7 percent of combined state and local expenditures.

Such statistical evidence, as well as qualitative studies of disinterested scholars, offers no support for the view that the states are in danger of withering and falling away. On the contrary, the evidence is overwhelming—as William Anderson points out in his scholarly volume *The Nation and the States, Rivals or Partners?*¹ which was initially prepared as a working paper for the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations—that the vitality of the states is greater than ever before and in largest measure due to the assistance, encouragement, and cooperation of the National Government.

All who understand the interdependence of our Federal system must recognize that it is indeed part of the national interest that the National Government help to preserve a strong system of state and local governments. This the Congress of the United States has been careful to assure by innumerable measures designed to enlarge the potential scope of state functions, to expand freedom of action by states, and to make more effective and real the taxing powers of the states. Through many forms of technical and economic assistance the Congress has made it possible for states to carry out functions which might otherwise have had to be assumed unilaterally by the National Government.

None of this should be in the least surprising, for it is a condi-

¹ William Anderson, *The Nation and the States, Rivals or Partners?* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955). I have borrowed freely from this excellent study in developing the thoughts and evidence presented in this paper.

tion built into the character of the Federal system. The National Government with its separation of powers and widely shared sources of authority is not a monolith, nor under our system is it likely to become one. It is not an opponent or competitor of the states. The Congress of the United States is made up of representatives of the states, ever conscious of their obligations to their own constituencies. Legislation which the states generally regard as inimical to their interests cannot pass, and no national Administration believes it can long place avoidable and unwelcome restraints on the states without being stopped by the Congress.

The competition among states for population and industry often denies them in practice the apparent freedoms they have in law. It often takes national action to make those freedoms effective. For example, the freedom of states to tax inheritances was ineffective until the National Government removed the competitive advantage to states without such taxes, by allowing individuals to charge state inheritance payments against the Federal tax up to 80 percent of the total.

This is particularly true in the field of social welfare. In upholding the Federal payroll tax for unemployment insurance in 1937, the Supreme Court of the United States stated that it was not a form of duress upon the states to enact unemployment insurance laws but, on the contrary, the states had not, in fact, been free to pass such laws before. Justice Cardozo said in his majority decision:

if states had been holding back before the passage of the federal law, inaction was not owing, for the most part, to the lack of sympathetic interest. Many held back through alarm lest in laying such a toll upon their industries, they would place themselves in a position of economic disadvantage as compared with their neighbors or competitors. . . . Two consequences ensued. One was that the freedom of a state to contribute its fair share to the solution of a national problem was paralyzed by fear. The other was that in so far as there was failure by the states to contribute relief according to the measure of their capacity, a disproportionate burden, and a mountainous one, was laid upon the resources of the Government of the nation. The Social Security Act is an attempt to find a method by which all these agencies may work together to a common end.

The chief element of contention by those who speak of "returning" functions to the states is the system of grants-in-aid. Of the total Federal grants-in-aid, those for social welfare, even excluding education, constitute considerably more than half. In the main, then, the contention centers on social welfare programs. It is not really surprising that those who have been most articulate in condemning what they choose to call the "Welfare State" have also been most vigorous in demanding that the National Government retreat or remove itself from grants for assistance and related programs.

Since the groups taking this position vary in composition and motivation, no one set of arguments is used by all of them. The most common allegation is oddly contradictory: that such devices place improper duress upon the states to adopt certain programs, but if the National Government would remove itself the programs would not be jeopardized but would continue as effectively and as fully as before.

Leaving aside the question of logic, the argument avoids the basic premise and basic purpose of the grants. The legally accepted and socially verified premise on which the national programs rest is that there is a national interest and therefore a national, as well as a local, responsibility for social welfare. What the various levels and agencies of government everywhere do, or fail to do, for the needy has wide and conspicuous effects upon the social, economic, political, and moral welfare of the whole people.

The purpose of the grants-in-aid is to promote that national responsibility while yet recognizing the considerable state and local interest, and to permit state administration and wide variations of practice while yet assuring some minimal national standards.

Even if it were no longer true that some states simply could not muster the resources within their borders to provide for this need, I believe it would be irresponsible and dangerous for the National Government to abandon all responsibility for a national problem and a national interest. For similar reasons, the states use the grant device in relation to their localities even more extensively than does the National Government in relation to the states.

Those who speak of a "return" of functions to the states not

only overlook the fact that the Federal Government has not in fact removed any state function, but that the states never exercised the functions in question until Federal assistance made it possible.

We are told that now that the welfare programs are established and their value demonstrated, they would be continued without further participation of the National Government if only the Federal Government would abandon certain of its taxing powers. What advantages this might have for the nation, even if it were true, is not made clear. But it could not prove to be the case, and the disadvantages are many and manifest.

First, it should be pointed out that it would be nationally dangerous arbitrarily to limit the nation's potential taxing authority. The foremost fiscal genius produced by this nation, Alexander Hamilton, demonstrated in the *Federalist Papers*, in which the theory of the Constitution received its greatest theoretical exposition, that a national government, whose responsibilities for national defense and welfare are illimitable and utterly unpredictable, must have an unlimited power of raising a national revenue.

Under the Constitution the state taxing powers are, with a few relatively unimportant exceptions, concurrent with the nation's, and no significant restrictions have been placed on the states' taxing powers. The overlapping which is both permissible and common is far more flexible and therefore far safer than any strict separation of tax sources could be.

Moreover, the advantages to the states of a separation of tax sources would by no means be uniform. Some states are very poor with respect to the sources which might be turned over to them. For example, the admissions tax would not be of much value as a revenue producer in rural states, and neither would the local telephone tax, as recently proposed.

However, no matter what taxes are made the exclusive domain of the states, the central problem would remain that the states with greatest need would continue to have least, and inadequate, resources to meet those needs. The advocates say that they hope to find a solution for this crucial problem. The fact is that the nation, through cooperative federalism, has already found a workable, and now working, solution through grants-in-aid, a

solution which the states through their representatives have chosen and supported.

Those who ask that the National Government "turn over" some of its tax jurisdiction to the states overlook the fact that the states are not now using their full tax resources. For example, by their own decision, more than one third of the states have no personal income taxes, and these include some of the wealthiest industrial states. Those that do have such a tax do not have rates as steeply graduated as the national rates. More than one third of the states have no corporation income tax.

The American Assembly volume on *The Forty-eight States* stated three years ago:

It is a myth that the states cannot raise more taxes, however traditional their reluctance. In fact they have increased their total annual collections from \$8 billion to \$11 billion over the past five years, though this has come more from improvement in tax bases than from higher rates. . . . A look at the record . . . will show that every state could substantially increase its revenues by adopting or cultivating some tax already in extensive use in other states. It will also dispel the argument that alternative forms of taxation are merely substitutes for each other that do not add to the total potential.²

The report also points out:

There is no panacea for the states in the nostalgic proposal . . . that tax sources should be clearly segregated by a no-poaching agreement between the national government and the states. . . . The Kestnbaum Commission refused to endorse it, and competent tax authorities agree that it is unrealistic so long as the power to tax is concurrent and both levels of government need more money than nineteenth century standards required. When the national government repealed its amusement tax last year [1954] the states did not move in on the abandoned territory.³

There is no way of assuring that the states will employ the exclusive tax jurisdiction requested for the same purposes or in the same degree as that for which present grants are intended. In fact, there is no way of assuring that the new revenue will not

² Harvey C. Mansfield, "The States in the American System, in *The Forty-eight States: Their Tasks as Policy Makers and Administrators* (New York: the American Assembly, Columbia University, 1955), p. 24.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

be used to replace revenue already obtained through other tax sources, and hence provide no net addition to state incomes.

I fear that the tax associations and manufacturer associations, which have been advocating the change, are all too aware that the National Government gets more of its revenues from progressive income taxes, with higher rates on higher incomes, based on ability to pay, while the states now put most of their emphasis on more regressive taxes, on taxes that weigh more heavily on poor and lower-middle-class people, notably on general sales taxes.

It is also now argued that the great increase of national concern and activity in international affairs and national defense should cause the National Government to abandon some of its domestic responsibilities to other levels of government. Government is not a form of amoebic life which can divide itself in half and remain equally viable in each. The contrary is true. The growing importance of national defense has actually increased the necessity for national responsibility in domestic affairs and general welfare. Lines cannot be drawn on matters of national security. Our experience has shown that national defense affects and is affected by health, education, science, technology, natural resources, highways, and all other matters of domestic consequence.

This is now more true of social welfare than ever before. Social welfare is now part of our international relations. What we do at home for our own people is of monumental importance in our striving to win to our cause the hearts and minds of uncommitted and underprivileged peoples. Diplomacy is no substitute for action. The people of the world care more about what we do, the overt manifestations of our consciences and Christian principles, than about the things we say.

Moreover, no agglomeration of missiles and satellites will adequately serve the national security if we do not demonstrate national concern with the health, the needs, and the morale of all our people in all parts of the nation.

It is also claimed that the contributions of the National Government have been accompanied by excessive restrictions upon state administrative and policy actions. "Excessive" is of course not a scientific term, and it is subject to many interpretations. It is

natural that every human being and every agency will wish as complete autonomy in his or its operations as possible. Where any degree of supervision is required, some irritations and some conflict are implicit.

Yet nothing in our experience suggests that Federal grants have resulted in docile and supine state policies or administration. The response of the states to the various public assistance amendments which have liberalized the Federal grants—and which the states' spokesmen in Congress demanded—indicates that they were not merely welcomed as additional monies, that they were not merely used to replace state money for the same assistance standard, but that the states voluntarily used the additional money to improve their standards and often even augmented state and local funds to raise assistance payments more than was provided by the Federal increase, or to provide for larger recipient loads.

Grants have given us greater fiscal equalization without undue uniformity in policy or administration. Federal supervision has emphasized uniformity *within* states rather than among states. A recent study prepared for the Government Affairs Foundation, supported by the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, concludes that Federal controls over program levels supported in part by Federal funds have been very loose indeed:

A state may decide that old age assistance shall be virtually a pension program or, at another extreme, subject to a rigorous means test. A state may fix practically any level of grants that it decides it can afford. The Federal Government has at times objected to definitions of need established by some states, but its protests have usually lacked effectiveness. As a result, the present system of federal aid for public assistance helps support a wide variety of program levels among the different states states generally get their way, when sufficiently determined, where it counts most—that is, in fixing program levels to be supported in part by federal funds.

The most detailed series of studies of intergovernmental relations in recent years was undertaken in Minnesota under the direction of Dr. William Anderson, with the assistance of the Rockefeller Foundation, and many useful monographs have resulted. The director of the study has stated his conclusion as follows:

In short, the Minnesota experience for the years we studied does not reveal any excess of federal supervision over federally aided projects, or any great protest from Minnesota officials or citizens against the work of the federal agencies in the state.⁴

A case study of intergovernmental relations issued by the Inter-University Case Program sagely observes: "Sanctions, even when provided by law, are seldom available and seldom used. . . . The intergovernmental process is one of persuasion and compromise, rather than of command and compulsion."⁵

It is odd that the critics always concentrate their comments on the influence which grants give the National Government over the states. But, in the words of Dr. Anderson:

Another aspect should also be considered. Does not the federal-aid system, by giving state agencies the power to administer functions in which there is a national interest, actually give the states considerable control over national policy and effectiveness in the area, control which they otherwise would not have, in addition to giving the states the extra funds?⁶

Our clear experience is that with all their shortcomings, the federally aided and state-administered functions have grown and improved steadily through the years. Dr. Anderson states that:

Along with federal aid to the states has come the establishment of new state functions and services, the improvement and expansion of others, and the raising of the standards of service and of the personnel engaged in rendering such services.⁷

The study points out that what the critics overlook is that the *real* alternative to the grant system would be direct services by the National Government:

The direct national OASI system, which bypasses the states entirely, has been a great success. . . . It has caused none of the frictions and irritations that have accompanied the federal aid public assistance programs. Yet, if the national government were to install more such direct services to the public, the states would indeed begin to lose out in the

⁴ Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

⁵ Paul N. Ylvisaker, "The Battle of Blue Earth County" in Harold Stein, ed., *Public Administration and Policy Development* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1952), p. 105.

⁶ Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

competition for public favor. By using the grants-in-aid method . . . Congress has clearly strengthened the states.⁸

This is not to say that the present formula or the present sharing of burdens or the present manner of supervision and control is right. The process demands continuous revision and adjustment to new problems and improvement from newly discovered techniques. I am not giving uncritical endorsement to the particular details in the present division of labors. But the particulars are not the issue here. We are concerned with general method. If progress is to be made, it will not come from a retreat to separatism, through fragmentation of our governmental strengths; it must and will come through joint application of all governmental resources.

New problems are constantly emerging, and they will require ever increasing resources. The states face an enormous and growing challenge in many fields in which the Federal Government is not now engaged, or only to a minor degree. Housing, mental health, education, juvenile delinquency, general relief—to mention a few—should fully challenge their enterprise, imagination, and resources. And these do not require pacts with the National Government to move ahead freely.

The states do indeed have grave problems, but they are not caused by Federal aid. Their problems center about self-imposed, antiquated governmental and tax structures. Before they can be confident of being able to meet the vastly enlarged responsibilities which lie ahead the states must succeed in the great tasks of internal governmental reform, such as the revision of obsolete, restrictive, and cluttered constitutions and outdated electoral provisions which penalize urban populations.

Most important, they need to give sufficient authority to their chief executives. The governors of the states are, on the whole, faced with frustration in trying to control their own executive departments. It is understandable that in failure to control these departments, especially when they administer grant-in-aid programs, the governors may indulge in outbursts against Washington. But the difficulties generally lie in their own state constitu-

⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 184-85.

tions, the fragmented character of their own governments, and the inadequacy of their own executive powers.

The real threat to the role of the states among levels of government does not come from Washington but from the explosively expanding metropolitan areas. Their needs are newest, most baffling, and least met among the great needs of the day. The cities and metropolitan areas require and are crying for assistance of all kinds. The failure of the states to serve the needs of their urban areas has already caused the mayors to look increasingly toward the Federal Government for direct aid. If the states insist upon separatism, while neglecting their own major problems, they may be bypassed in the topmost domestic issues of our time.⁹

Frankly, I am not greatly concerned that the attempt to remove the National Government from social welfare or grants-in-aid can make very much headway. Despite the recent recommendations of President Eisenhower, and despite outbreaks of political rhetoric, as a purely practical matter it cannot happen simply because the states and their representatives in Congress will not permit it to happen. They could not afford it. The practical considerations will be controlling.

It is the moral tone of the argument which deeply disturbs me, and I believe should disturb people of good will everywhere. It is distressing and dangerous to propagate the idea that one level of government belongs more to the people than the others. All government is the people's, designed to serve them. The citizens of the nation are the citizens of the states and localities. The evidence happens to be clear that state governments have not been so responsive to the needs and desires of their citizens as the National Government. But this is not my point. It is the spirit of *divisiveness* being fostered, which I deplore.

The moral and intellectual leaders of our time have been struggling to teach our people that the world and its affairs are now interdependent. For our own security, our own welfare, we are called upon to aid and identify ourselves with less fortunate na-

⁹The Kestnbaum Commission on Intergovernmental Relations observed that "one result of State neglect of the reapportionment problem is that urban governments have bypassed the States and made direct cooperative arrangements with the National Government . . ." *Report to the President* (June, 1955), p. 40.

tions and peoples all over the world. We are coming to understand that we live in an international economy, that rich lands must help poor lands. We cannot escape the sharing of responsibility for welfare everywhere. We are relearning, in world-wide terms, that we *are* our brothers' keepers.

In a world which demands such a continuously enlarged outlook, where peace and welfare depend upon the breakdown of narrow nationalistic psychologies and nationalistic behaviors, which demands increased intergovernmental arrangements for some international order—in such a world we hear in our own midst a shrill cry for internal fragmentation and delimited sectional and state outlooks, to divide rather than unite. This is not only socially reactionary—a nostalgic harking back to a dead past—it is wholly out of keeping with the moral reawakening required of our times.

While it is perhaps premature to ask our people to think of themselves as responsible citizens of an interdependent world, it is not excessive to expect now that our citizens shall take seriously the salute we were taught as school children: "One nation indivisible." We might augment the salute with one word in keeping with the essential spirit of the original: "One nation indivisible, with liberty, justice, and welfare for all!"

Taking Stock and Looking Ahead in Public Assistance

by JAY L. RONEY

STRONG FAMILY LIFE is both a force for improving human welfare and a result of helping people to meet their deepest needs. But if we are to move forward in strengthening and preserving strong family life, we must first stop and take stock. This means that we must ask ourselves: What has public assistance already accomplished? Where does it stand now? What are the gaps and problems in our existing programs? And what should we do about them?

Because the members of the National Conference on Social Welfare will, to a large degree, be partners in our progress, I shall speak as a social worker in public welfare—not necessarily as a Federal official. I shall express my own opinions, and tell you my dreams, shared by many. You will realize that, in doing so, I am sailing way out beyond the official policies of the Federal Government and the laws as they are now written.

I cannot express too strongly my belief that Federal legislation has been an important tool in helping public welfare move ahead. With the coming of the depression in the 1930s, the needs of the few became the needs of the many. Broad social planning was necessary in our attempts both to meet existing need and to reduce future hazards. That planning led to the passage of the Social Security Act in 1935. As the American people gained a fuller recognition of the interdependence of individuals, families, communities, and the nation, the Act was amended to provide better measures to help people. In my estimation, the Social Security

Act and its amendments are among the nation's most important pieces of legislation, so far as our entire citizenry are concerned.

What are some of the advances made possible by Federal legislation? Since 1936 the Old-Age and Survivors Insurance (OASI) program has been so broadened that today nine out of ten workers are assured of maintenance income when the wage earner retires or dies. Unemployment insurance protects workers in many industries against abrupt and complete loss of income when they cannot find jobs. The public assistance titles express the nation's awareness of widespread need against which there can be no insurance, and of the many people who have no chance for coverage under an insurance program. All these measures have helped to provide our families with some of the financial security so necessary to strong family life. To cite just one example of our increased stability, the average personal income dropped 8 percent in the 1929-30 depression. In March of the 1958 recession it had declined only 1.9 percent.

The public assistance titles resulted in the establishment of the expansion, within a short time, of public welfare agencies in every section of the country. The Federal requirements of state-wide programs and state responsibility paid off quickly and well. For more than twenty years the nationwide programs have helped people in numbers that seem massive, and at costs that seem high. Nevertheless, the public assistance organization has maintained to a large degree its sensitivity to people as individuals, and has served them on the basis of their individual needs and problems.

The public assistance titles can count their achievements in terms of human feelings. The granting of aid does not depend on the worker's subjective judgment, but on the application of state standards. Handouts of old clothes, grocery orders, and payments to landlords and other creditors have been replaced by cash payments to the needy person. Most public assistance recipients have some money, though it may be very little, so that they, like their neighbors, can buy the things they must have at the stores they think best to patronize. Thus, they not only can *feel* more independent, they *are* more independent than the recipient of old-fashioned "poor relief."

We have moved forward, too, in recognizing that health, as well as money, is essential to human welfare. Since 1936 a needy person has been able to use his public assistance payment for medical care. This has often meant, however, that he would have to forego filling some of his other basic needs. Then, in 1956, the Federal Government was authorized to give the states financial help over and apart from the grants for assistance payments. The state agencies are to use the money to pay doctors, hospitals, and other suppliers of medical and remedial care. The medical legislation, I believe, is an important start in helping people toward better health.

We have progressed, too, in realizing that people may need help with nonfinancial problems that often accompany—and sometimes even cause—need. Broad social services have long been provided by voluntary agencies. Public assistance workers have done less in this area. In 1956, Federal legislation clarified the goals of services in public assistance: to help people develop, to their appropriate degree, the abilities to care for themselves, to support themselves, and to strengthen their family life.

One of our biggest gains lies in our helping both old people and children remain in their own homes under circumstances that once would have necessitated separation and perhaps institutionalization. The number of children who, because of poverty, must live in children's institutions has declined. There are fewer full orphans nowadays. When a parent dies, the children usually receive survivors' benefits, and are thus able to remain at home with their other parent. If such insurance is not available, the family may be helped to maintain the home through Aid to Dependent Children (ADC).

As a result of Federal amendments, also, each state providing aid to people in institutions must see that these institutions maintain certain standards.

These public welfare advances have not been easy to achieve. We have had to cope with differing philosophies, inadequate resources, threats to local autonomy, and, at times and in some places, strong opposition. Some of these problems are still troubling us. Therefore, I think it extremely important that we in public wel-

fare have recently agreed upon a definitive statement on public assistance principles.

We have a statement¹ that shows where public assistance stands philosophically. These are its major points:

1. All people should have the opportunity to secure the basic needs for living. When they cannot meet these needs, it is the responsibility of government to assist in meeting them through appropriate sources.
2. Everyone who lacks means to meet his basic economic needs should be able to get money, promptly and equitably, through the public assistance program.
3. The amount of financial aid should be sufficient to enable people to maintain a living standard compatible with decency and health.
4. Public assistance should be administered with the same full respect for personal rights and responsibilities of needy individuals and families which society accords other members of the community.
5. Public assistance should be administered so as to assist individuals and families to regain the ability to meet their own basic needs. When this is not possible, each person and family should be assisted to function to maximum capacity.

Our agreement on this statement, however, does not mean that these principles are actually being carried out all over the country. But the statement provides us with a chart for determining where we stand in public assistance today, and for planning some routes that we hope will help us reach our welfare goals.

We in public assistance are seeing—in the masses of people who come to our agencies—the new social pressures that are affecting our welfare needs. We realize that more and more people are facing problems that have nothing to do with financial need while, at the same time, money is of increasing importance.

What are these pressures? How can we hope to help people reduce the threats to family stability?

Let us consider mobility first. Americans have always been a mobile people. In past years, a man usually moved once, when he was young. Then he settled down, and his children and his grandchildren were raised in the same community. Today, our people

¹ Joint statement by the Bureau of Public Assistance and the American Public Welfare Association, "Educational Needs of the Caseworker for Practice in the Field of Public Assistance," prepared for the Council on Social Work Education, January, 1958.

are constantly on the move—and the nation's industry and progress depend on our workers' mobility.

In each of the past ten years, one out of five people has changed his home. Out of 30 million movers a year, 5 million have crossed state lines. The average family moves to eight new communities in the course of the wage earner's working life. This may necessitate adjustment to different customs, different social and economic levels. Throughout history, a stranger in a new community seldom has an easy time unless provisions are made to help him adjust to his new life.

Rapid urbanization is a characteristic of today's mobility. People are moving to the cities to find better job opportunities, more convenient living, and more chances for personal development. Our urban population has grown from 40 percent in 1900 to 63 percent in 1956; in 1950, three fifths of the nation were living in 168 metropolitan areas.

The same desire for better living conditions has caused people to move to the suburbs. Between 1950 and 1956 our suburban population increased 29 percent, while the central cities grew only 5 percent. To illustrate, in 1940, San Fernando Valley, thirty miles from downtown Los Angeles, was populated largely with orange trees. In 1957, more than 625,000 people were settled in 22 new communities there.

Behind our mobility and urbanization is, of course, the nation's rapid industrialization, which is changing the aspect of the entire country. Atomic industry, for example, has caused the establishment of at least four busy cities in rural areas that probably never before even had a smokestack. People must learn how to work in new kinds of employment. In 1900, 40 percent of our wage earners were in agriculture. Today, 69 percent work in trade, manufacturing, the professions, and other occupations. Advancement depends on vocational training, additional education, and the worker's competitive drive. These all may bring both financial and emotional strain.

How does industrialization add to the pressures of mobility and urbanization on family life?

Old people used to be able to live out their lives on their own

small farms. Today, farms are being turned into huge agricultural combines. When the younger generation moves, the aged are often left alone. Or, if the old person lives with his family, he may feel guilty that he is using space, money, and attention that rightfully belong to his grandchildren. If he wants to work, he may lack the special education and skills that are required in modern industry.

Our money economy also adds pressure on family life. We no longer can exchange our homemade products or our labor for the goods and services that we must have to live. Everyone needs money. The pressure is hard on all families. One in four mothers is in the labor force today, in contrast to one in ten mothers working in 1940. As a nation, we must decide whether work for the mother is the best means of maintaining or building strong family life. If the mother must work, how can the children be assured of the home conditions that they need for normal development? What services will be helpful and what source should provide them?

Family breakdown is on the increase. The number of divorced women increased, between 1900 and 1950, eight times as fast as the total number of women in our population. In 1954 there were more divorces than in any year prior to 1942, and more of these divorces involved children. We do not know the exact figures on separation and desertion but we can assume that they have increased proportionately. We know that 57 percent of the families receiving ADC need help because of the parents' estrangement.

We also face startling increases in the number of children born out of wedlock. The number of illegitimate births has increased every year, with one exception, since 1938. In 1944 the rate was 37.6 illegitimate births out of every 1,000 live births; in 1954, the rate was 44 per 1,000, more than double the number of illegitimate births in 1938. It is true that the decline in our infant death rate may partially explain the rise in the illegitimacy rate. Then too, in recent years there has tended to be more complete reporting of the nation's births. But we cannot doubt that more children than ever before lack a strong home life because their parents are not married.

In all families broken by divorce, desertion, disability, and unmarried parenthood the need for financial assistance may be extreme. It is said that one out of seven children in the nation lives in a family having an income of less than \$2,000 a year, and the broken home is probably at the very bottom of the income ladder. In 1954 the woman head of a family earned a median income of \$2,294, while the average income of a family headed by a man was \$4,200.

Our population is expanding. It is estimated that the nation will contain 20 percent more people in 1965 than in 1955. We shall have 25 percent more aged and 17 percent more children under fifteen—and change is always hardest on the very old and the very young. Even if the proportion of families who seek help from social work agencies does not increase, we must plan to help more families in 1965.

The problem of providing money to needy people has always been a serious one in public assistance. The assistance payments in relation to living costs are still inadequate in some jurisdictions. To help the states make more realistic payments, Federal participation has been increased from time to time. However, the total amount of assistance provided to ADC families in many places, for example, is barely enough to cover the minimum costs of food as priced by the Department of Agriculture. Unless these families cut down on food, all their remaining necessities must be purchased from their other very small income.

The adequate financing of public assistance is a major determinant in both the physical and the mental welfare of our needy.

Although a person may qualify for state-Federal aid on the basis of need, he may not be able to meet the residence requirements imposed by his state. We all are concerned with helping people to have strong family life, but residence laws may actually split families. Just recently, a woman asked the Bureau of Public Assistance whether, if she brought her sick mother to Washington, the old lady could get public assistance. The woman could supply her mother with housing and personal care but could not pay for her other needs. However, because District laws restrict aid to people meeting certain residence requirements, the mother had

to remain in a distant state hospital. State laws on residence as an eligibility requirement for public assistance may vary, so long as they do not exceed a limit fixed by Federal law. These variations produce inequities that are not in accord with our public assistance principles.

Theoretically, general assistance programs help needy people who cannot qualify for any state-Federal assistance program. But many states do not have a state-wide program. Too often the programs depend upon the discretion of the "county fathers." Need, residence, and other eligibility requirements, as well as assistance levels, vary even from locality to locality.

Another serious problem is the lack of skilled workers. Public assistance agencies must rely heavily on a comparatively small number of trained staff. Moreover, the huge caseloads prevent even highly skilled workers from giving the help that is so badly needed. Additional Federal funds for training have not been made available because of the nation's defense needs. But I am glad to say that the states themselves are working out plans for training grants, educational leave, and staff-development activities.

Can we, as human beings using all our resources, hope to serve all who seek our help? Will every troubled person ever be able to get aid solely on the basis of his need? Will help be available to prevent dependency before it occurs?

It is my dream that we shall someday reach these goals. But obviously we shall first have to look ahead—then we shall have to push ahead.

Let us survey the current trends in public assistance.

The Old-age Assistance program is gradually decreasing, as more people, when they retire, qualify for maintenance income through OASI. The number of those who cannot qualify for retirement benefits, or whose benefits are not sufficient to cover their special needs, will, I hope, be at a minimum. But our old people will undoubtedly need more medical care and other social services that help make life worth living.

The Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled (APTD) program is expected to decline. Many disabled people will be helped through the continuing and increasing rehabilitation ef-

forts of the welfare agencies. The OASI program has initiated payments to seriously disabled workers who are between fifty and sixty-five years of age. In three states temporarily disabled workers are getting benefits through programs related to the state unemployment compensation programs. In one state such benefits are related to the workmen's compensation program. This trend, I hope, may expand to other states.

Now we come to the group that most deeply concerns each of us—the families that are composed of parents and growing children. These families suffer most in a recession, for they are usually dependent on a parent's wages. When unemployment strikes, family life is threatened. My first vision of the future concerns these families.

My vision is not original. Some of you have already sketched it out in your messages to Congress. You have stressed the need for an assistance program that will be sufficiently flexible, and sufficiently adequate, to help families in periods of recession and other catastrophes. You have suggested that Federal financial participation be made available for general assistance.

Although not now available everywhere, general assistance is the first source of help in an emergency. Where available, it was quick to reflect the current recession when some 2 million workers were both unemployed and uninsured. But the facts are that, in February, 1958, only twenty-five states were providing general assistance to workers who had exhausted their unemployment compensation. In sixteen states employable workers could not get assistance. Ten states without state-wide programs reported that no aid was available even in the hardest hit areas. Five states left the provision of aid to local decision.²

You can readily see that many needy wage earners and their families cannot get any general assistance whatsoever. In some states applicants for aid must meet residence and other eligibility requirements similar to those imposed in the state-Federal assistance programs. When relief is available, it is usually not nearly

²State Welfare Administrators' Report, "Impact of Unemployment on Their General Assistance and Aid to Dependent Children Programs," February 28, 1958.

so adequate as the aid provided under the other programs. Moreover, relief is usually not equitable within a state, to say nothing of its equity throughout the country. I believe that neither adequate nor equitable general assistance is possible so long as the program must depend, to a large extent, on local planning and financing.

I envision a nationwide program that will provide aid, when necessary, to all people of working age. I am suggesting a permanent and broad program that would not be an expedient to operate only in the midst of a recession, but rather one that could adapt itself to economic changes, be they up or down. People will be able to get assistance before they have exhausted or converted all their resources, and before they have lost their physical and emotional strength and self-confidence. Thus, I believe, we shall be able to save many families from complete breakdown.

I believe in a general assistance program based on certain provisions:

1. Federal and state governments should participate financially.
2. Each state-Federal program should be governed by state policies and procedures, and should operate on a state-wide basis.
3. Each program should be broad enough in scope so that help may be provided to needy families regardless of residence, political affiliation, degree of employability, or other qualifications unrelated to need.

There are many varying opinions about the financial relationship that should exist between the Federal and state governments. Our current partnership contains many satisfactory elements and many potentials for future cooperation. But I look forward to a general assistance program that will avoid some of the difficulties that have shown up in the state-Federal programs as they now operate. For example, experience has shown that:

1. Many states and localities cannot afford to appropriate funds that, together with Federal funds as now provided, can assure adequate and equitable assistance.
2. The present Federal formulas are not adapted to helping each state on the basis of its individual fiscal ability and need.

In the same way, state methods for distributing funds to localities seldom are adapted to helping each locality on the basis of its individual fiscal ability and need.

3. Present Federal and state maximums on individual assistance payments are not flexible; with them, we cannot provide equitable and adequate assistance to all clients. Furthermore, present Federal maximums provide about one-half as much for ADC recipients as for the needy aged, the blind, and the disabled. Most of the state maximums follow the same pattern.

How, then, are we to finance a state-Federal general assistance program? The responsibility must be a joint one, certainly between Federal and state governments, and possibly also with local financial participation. Where shall we find the money for the program? Federal participation in another program does not necessarily involve large additional Federal expenditures. We recognize that the financial pressures on states and local governments are great. If the Federal Government helps within an additional area of need, will it be possible to reconsider and adjust present state and local financial patterns to provide money for this program?

The concept of a national standard of health and decency below which no person shall be forced to live has been part of the philosophy of public assistance from the beginning. However, the Federal formulas have not been related to variations in the states' fiscal ability and need so that states would be enabled to provide such a minimum.

If Federal participation were varied according to each state's fiscal ability to appropriate assistance funds and to its need, we would make considerable progress toward such a minimum. We should also consider developing a minimum standard of need that could be used as a nationwide guide. If such a standard were worked out, the Federal formula should do its full part in insuring that this minimum could be provided throughout the nation.

Everyone who works with legislation knows that the art of compromise may prevent going down to early defeat. Therefore, I have another vision—my compromise. In brief, it is: Broadening the scope of the ADC and APTD programs.

Legislation covering ADC is already on the statute books in

all jurisdictions, and for APTD in most jurisdictions. For several decades there has been a propensity to provide public aid through categories that grouped people according to common characteristics in addition to need. Money at the state and Federal levels is regularly appropriated. The filling of gaps in existing programs is apt to be better understood and therefore more easily accomplished than starting a new nationwide program.

Our children are severely affected by our changing society, as we can see from the continuing rise in the ADC rolls. In 1957, for the first time, the need for family aid surpassed the need for old-age assistance. Orphaned children can receive help from OASI. But the ADC program is the only source of help for children whose parents, though living, are not supporting them. Must we limit public assistance to children who lack support because of a parent's divorce, disability, desertion, or death? In some areas, there is pressure to restrict aid to certain families, or to certain children in those families. Is a child any less of a human being, with less need for secure love, guidance, and support, because both parents are living?

I should like to see an ADC program that will serve all families on the basis of their need. It will provide not only for money, but also for the nonfinancial services that help a family work toward permanent strength and normal development. The immediate cost of caring for all needy children will be peanuts, compared to the costs of not giving every child this care. In helping him to develop normally, we work not only toward his happiness, but toward greater strength in the next generation; a happy child makes a mature, capable, and happy parent.

An expanded ADC program will mean a family-centered program, I hope. In administration, we shall have to establish policies that will strengthen the family group rather than weaken it.

One case history comes to mind of a family in which the father was invalidated by severe heart trouble. In order to support the three children, the mother took a job as a bus girl, and cared for her family at night. After several weeks of worry about her overwork, the father had two heart attacks in three days. The mother caught cold that ran into pneumonia. Both parents had to be hos-

pitalized. The children were sent to a foster home. Aside from the emotional disruption, the cost in public funds for one day was greater than the provision of public assistance would have been for an entire month.

When ADC is available to all needy children we shall no longer discriminate against the child whose father has been absent less than six months, whose parents are not married, or whose father is unemployed. If it is true that some fathers have disappeared in order that their children may be eligible for aid, such desertion will no longer be necessary.

Our future ADC program can, I hope, provide services to prevent family breakdown. As we work toward this goal, I feel confident that we shall have the continuing help of the Children's Bureau. For the Bureau is concerned with the welfare of all children—not merely those requiring public assistance. The Children's Bureau and the Bureau of Public Assistance will work together to give the special guidance that each is well qualified to provide. Child welfare workers and public assistance workers will recognize each other's skills as they serve the needs of individual cases. I hope, too, that together we shall learn the answers to some problems that concern both the public and the voluntary agencies that seek to prevent family disruption. Among the questions we must consider are:

Is financial need a major cause of family disruption?

Can skilled social work, with adequate aid made available early in the case, prevent such breakdown before it occurs?

What role can vocational training play, both for the mother who must shoulder the task of supporting her family and for the children who must eventually support themselves?

How can unmarried mothers best be helped to reach mature solutions to their problems?

And lastly, *who* shall provide *what* services?

Now let us briefly consider the disabled. By making some changes in Federal and state laws and policies to remove the "permanently and totally" clause, I believe we can help more disabled people. Many temporarily or less seriously handicapped people must now depend on whatever general assistance is available. If

public welfare agencies, together with other agencies offering specialized help to handicapped persons, can aid before the situation is serious, we can relegate to the past the incidence of permanent and total disability as we are eliminating the incidence of polio.

If expansion of these two programs were realized, a change in the basis of Federal financial participation should also be made. As I suggested for the general assistance program, the Federal share should be related to the fiscal ability and need of each state.

I believe we can make substantial progress in guarding the nation against the threats of family breakdown if we, public and voluntary welfare agencies together, expand our programs better to meet today's needs. If our convictions are strong enough, we can help parents and children turn their despair into hope, their fear into courage, and their insecurity into our greatest human joy—strong family life.

Issues in Child Welfare Administration

by MAURICE O. HUNT

WE HAVE LONG BEEN COMMITTED in this country to the principle that basic child welfare services should be available for the protection and care of those children who need them. Federal responsibility for helping establish and for encouraging the extension of such services was written into the Social Security Act when it was passed in 1935. At that time many states were already doing something about homeless and mistreated children. The Social Security Act, however, resulted in the establishment of public welfare agencies in all states. It also resulted in state statutes placing responsibility for the well-being of children with this new state agency. The wording of these statutes is usually broad and all-encompassing. They ordinarily constitute a charge upon the state agency to do those things which are necessary to protect children and to provide adequate standards of care.

As a result of these developments, we have today a vast network of state and local public agencies providing services (in December, 1956) to 321,805 children. In March, 1957, these public welfare services (not related to financial assistance) reached 329,688 children.

It is estimated by the Children's Bureau of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare that \$159 million were spent on these children during the year ending June 30, 1957. This is an important contribution to the lives of a large number of children. Those of us who have had some part in the development of these programs during the last two decades tend to look back and thrill with pride at the progress we have seen.

On the other hand, a careful look at the current status of child welfare services reveals many serious problems. In fact, a com-

parison of existing services with the needs of children today rather than with past deficiencies in service can only result in grave concern for the well-being of children throughout the nation.

One of the goals of public child welfare from the beginning has been to make available certain basic services in every political subdivision in the country. In this matter of coverage, we have been far from successful. It is true that every state has a child welfare program, but this does not mean that services are readily available throughout each state. In fact, there are vast areas where basic services are essentially unavailable and where dire emergencies in the lives of children bring forth only meager endeavors on the part of their communities. In 1957 only half of the nation's counties had available the services of child welfare case-workers who were giving full time to child welfare. Some of these full-time workers were spreading themselves over many counties. On the other hand, in some of the counties where there were no full-time workers, adequate child welfare services were, no doubt, being provided by workers who also carried responsibility for other services. In many counties, however, practically no casework was accessible to children. It can only be concluded that children in these counties continue, as in the past, to grow up neglected and mistreated, and that where the court or some other agency steps in to prevent the worst from happening, only make-shift arrangements meet their needs.

To have this situation existing in a country as progressive, as rich in resources, and as socially minded as the United States, seems unthinkable. Certainly so long as it does exist, none of us can afford to be too proud of our accomplishments, and certainly we cannot be complacent.

This picture becomes even more dismal upon examination of the actual facilities and services found in those counties having child welfare programs. Children whose parents neglect or mistreat them, children whose parents misunderstand them, children who are in danger of becoming delinquent or who have already been involved in delinquencies, need a broad variety of child welfare services.

Most public child welfare programs were started with emphasis

on the provision of foster care. Those situations where the problems of children became so serious that they could no longer live with their own families were dramatic and emergent. It is not surprising, therefore, that the provision of foster care has been the most extensive of the public child welfare services. Even here, however, there are large deficiencies both in coverage and in services provided.

In 1956 the Children's Bureau made an inquiry in all states concerning the adequacy of their foster care programs.¹ The results of this inquiry, while not too encouraging, were certainly thought-provoking and, it is to be hoped, action-provoking. Although in most counties of the country there was some court or social agency charged with the responsibility for providing foster care, there were vast areas where only meager emergency services were provided. Forty-nine of the fifty-one responding states and territories reported that children who needed foster care were not receiving it. Thirty-eight states reported children in institutions who should have been in foster family care. Forty-five states reported need for additional foster family homes, and the same number of states expressed their need for residential treatment centers for emotionally disturbed children. No one examining this Children's Bureau report can fail to be impressed with the continued need for radical extension in services in this earliest recognized phase of child welfare.

During recent years much time and thought have been given by administrators of public child welfare agencies to the subject of adoption. As a result, adoption services have increased considerably, and much more use is being made of this method of providing a permanent home to children whose own families have failed them. Here, too, we have a long way to go. In 1956, 43 percent of the children adopted throughout the country by unrelated petitioners were placed without the help of social agencies. Thirty-six states reported in the Children's Bureau survey that they had children in foster family care or in institutions who should be in

¹ *Foster Care 1956*, Child Welfare Report No. 8, Children's Bureau, Social Security Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Washington, D.C., 1956).

adoptive homes. All of us in child welfare in recent years have attained a new vision of the possibilities of adoption, but we have much to accomplish before this vision is translated into the reality which might mean permanent homes for large numbers of children now floating from temporary arrangement to temporary arrangement.

During recent years, child welfare workers have been talking extensively about the importance of each child's own family, and it is right that we should do so. As we have worked with hundreds of thousands of children in foster care, we have learned that there is never a complete substitute for a child's own family and we have been impressed with the important influence of a child's parents, for better or worse, upon his future. This has resulted in more casework with parents of children in foster care, aimed at reconstructing families. Also, we have begun to ask: Why wait to apply these services until after children have had the terrible experiences that lead to removal from their families? In the same way, child welfare workers who have been close to delinquent children either in courts or in training schools have been impressed by the long histories of neglect, misunderstanding, and, sometimes, cruelty. Here, too, we are raising the question: Why wait—why not apply casework skills at an early stage? As family problems affecting the well-being of children become apparent, we are beginning to take our services to these families; we are beginning to get there in time to prevent more serious problems and to enable children to remain with their families.

This concept of applying efforts early to prevent the development of more serious family problems and, perhaps, the removal of the child has been commonly accepted for several years. One might expect that by this time this would be the major emphasis of child welfare throughout the country. Certainly child welfare workers should not be satisfied until the time and energy put into holding homes together far exceeds that spent in foster care. In fact, however, this is far from true. Services of this kind are even more spotty than foster care, and most child care agencies are still using the bulk of their resources in the provision of foster care, either in boarding homes or institutions. In December, 1957, 38

percent of the children receiving casework services from state and local public child welfare agencies were in their own homes; the other 62 percent were in foster homes, institutions, or elsewhere.² Significantly, from 1946 to 1957 the number of children receiving service (unrelated to financial assistance) in their own homes increased only by 22 percent, while those in foster homes increased by 37 percent. It is obvious that across the country we lack much of translating our visions concerning the strengthening of family life into positive realities.

The same may be said concerning the development of programs providing auxiliary aids to the family, such as homemaker and day care services. Although public agencies are taking an increased interest in these fields, the places where this interest has been translated into actual help to parents are few and far between. The Children's Bureau reports that homemaker services are available in only 150 of the 3,100 counties in the United States. Of the 145 local agencies providing these services only 34 are public welfare agencies. Although in 1955, 6.5 million mothers of children under eighteen were working (a 41 percent increase from 1950), there is no evidence of anything like a comparable increase in time and attention to the problems arising out of this situation. Day care still remains a minor interest for many state welfare departments in a period when the need for a positive program is clearly indicated.

Since 1948 there has been throughout the country an increase of more than 100 percent in the number of children appearing in juvenile courts for delinquency. This steady increase can no longer be written off by anyone as a statistical error. Instead, it must be recognized for what it apparently is, tangible evidence of an increasing number of youngsters who are becoming seriously maladjusted in our present-day civilization. This horde of unhappy youngsters presents a challenge to public child welfare such as it has never had before. To cope with this problem requires a whole battery of services from various sources, but one thing these children have in common is a need for casework, the

²Important contributions in strengthening family life are, of course, being made by public welfare in families receiving assistance to dependent children. These are not included in these figures unless they are also counted as child welfare cases.

special commodity of child welfare services. Many of them need foster care and have needed it for years before they reached the point of conflict with society which brought them into court. Many more of them are badly in need of help with problems within their families. Public welfare services should be available to these children.

If we are to cope with the problem of delinquency, we must, in every state, have a strong agency providing leadership in the attack. In my opinion, public child welfare agencies are in an excellent position not only to provide the necessary services, but to fill this leadership role as well. There are, however, many states in which public welfare is not carrying this responsibility. Although services may not be denied to delinquents, most state welfare departments make no special claim to responsibility in this field and are not actually giving the leadership which is required. In a few states, on the other hand, public welfare has this assignment and is tackling it vigorously. In about the same number of states, special agencies have been set up to help those children who have become, or are in danger of becoming, delinquents. In a vast majority of states, aggressive leadership is coming from nowhere. Certainly we have a long way to go in this important phase of child welfare.

While we are facing facts let me add one further fact. Although there has been a great increase in the volume of service provided by public child welfare agencies over the years, these increases have in actuality over the last ten years fallen far behind the rise in the total child population. Information from the Children's Bureau based on reports from forty states shows that the number of children receiving child welfare casework services from public welfare agencies increased on an average of 25 percent from 1946 to 1957, but that the population under twenty-one in these states increased 34 percent in the same period.

We can only conclude after this brief review that although we have come far in child welfare, we still have much to do. We lack coverage. Our services are far from comprehensive. We have not kept up with growing needs.

It seems to me that the time has arrived when public welfare

people, social workers, and citizens interested in children must take stock of this situation. Particularly must we give some thought to the obstacles which are preventing us from expanding child welfare to meet the needs which we know exist.

When we discuss our problems we tend to project our difficulties on other people; we talk about the legislature that did not act; we talk about the Governor who would not go along on certain projects; we talk about the lack of interest on the part of the public; we talk about meager appropriations. I was amazed, however, when I listed what seemed to be the major obstacles, to find how many of them actually seemed to lie, at least partially, within the control of those of us who have responsibility for the administration of child welfare programs. By that I mean boards, state and local welfare administrators, child welfare directors, supervisors, caseworkers, and others. Although we are faced with serious obstacles, much within our own control can be done to expand and strengthen services to meet today's needs.

One of the first problems which we must overcome is our own lack of vision. Too many of us, content with being successful at our own little piece of the job, do not give much thought to the broader aspects of child welfare. There is nothing wrong, for example, with gaining satisfactions from making a successful foster placement, but if we are to move ahead, we must first stop and think of what might have been accomplished had we had an opportunity to work with this child and his family at a much earlier date. We are not going to make the substantial headway which is an absolute necessity unless more of us catch the vision of broad child welfare programs reaching the people who need them at a time when they can be most helpful.

We must not be afraid to "think big." There is a lot of ground to be gained in child welfare, and it will not be gained by small measures. The services which are needed will cost money and require a large number of people. We tend to be too pessimistic about the willingness of the public to do things for the well-being of children, and I am afraid many times our failure to move ahead is due to our own failure to ask enough.

Another problem which frequently gets in the way of progress

is the failure of child welfare people to agree within their own ranks on the nature of the steps which are to be taken. It is a tragic thing when people having a common interest in children cannot go to a state legislature or to Congress in substantial agreement. There is no quicker way to kill progress in a legislative body than to have people within a professional group disagreeing on proposals.

Too many times we have also lacked conviction concerning the steps which must be taken. It is out of conviction that we get courage, and courage is going to be a necessary ingredient for those people who face up to the problems of children and provide leadership in dealing with them. Few major advances have been made in social work which did not involve some risk. Sometimes we risk failure. Sometimes professional standards are in jeopardy. Sometimes our status in the field and our jobs may be at stake. If we are going to move ahead in the big way which is necessary to solve big problems, we must be willing to take some chances.

The person who continually cries that we can try nothing new because we are not doing well the things we are doing now, will not furnish the leadership which we must have in the future. The school of thought in child welfare which has held that we should do for children only what can be done on an extremely high professional plane is of the past. It has been tried and has been helpful in meeting the needs of a few children, but never can this approach be depended upon to provide coverage in child welfare throughout the country or to make available the basic services which are not now existing in so many communities. When did anybody in social work ever start a new project of any substantial proportions with an adequate staff? We just do not move forward that way in a democracy. We accept responsibilities. We get the best help we can and we tackle the job. If we play our cards well, more staff is forthcoming and eventually we may make a major contribution. If we do not, we may fall flat on our faces. This is the risk we have to take. We must have the courage of our convictions and we must be willing to move ahead even if it involves a certain amount of danger.

On the other hand, we do face in this field serious problems resulting from lack of people with the training and experience which we regard as necessary to give the best services to children. This is unquestionably a serious obstacle and one with which we can deal only with strong public support.

The low evaluation placed by the public upon teachers, ministers, psychologists, and others responsible for the guidance of children is more than shared by social workers. There is no doubt that this puts us at a disadvantage in recruiting and holding personnel in child welfare.

We will know much more about what motivates persons to leave child welfare assignments when the current survey by the Children's Bureau and other national agencies is completed. Although the matter of compensation is no doubt important, there are, in my opinion, other factors which may play as important a role. These have to do with the skill which we exercise in selection, the working conditions we provide, and the supervision and understanding of the job which our workers are given. Some of these matters certainly are in our power to influence and although getting better salaries is a must, we might go a long way toward preventing some of the 27 percent annual turnover in professional child welfare positions if we vigorously tackle some of these other administrative problems.

Actually, public child welfare has done an outstanding job in recruiting and training personnel. In 1950 it was found that public child welfare services had progressed well beyond the whole field of social work in the percentage of staff which had full professional training (20 percent for child welfare as compared with 16 percent for the profession as a whole).³ In 1955 a survey made by the Children's Bureau revealed that the number with two years or more of professional education had increased to 28 percent and that another 25 percent had had at least one year of professional training. When the 8 percent who had had less than one year are added to the others, we find that a total of 61 percent

³ *Educational Leave in Public Child Welfare Programs*, Children's Bureau, Social Security Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Washington, D.C., 1950), p. 10.

of the 4,871 professional persons employed in public child welfare have had at least some graduate education.⁴

This good record for child welfare is, in my opinion, largely due to the excellent leadership of the Children's Bureau in good personnel standards and to a liberal use by state welfare departments of Federal funds for educational leave. Nevertheless, the number of grants budgeted by the states to be made to persons for educational leave steadily dropped from 1952 through 1955 from a high of 624 to a low of 352. While this trend has since been reversed, if we are really interested in obtaining personnel for child welfare we must make sure that such a drop does not occur again. It is encouraging to note that the amount budgeted by the states in 1958 is at an all-time high.

One of the things that those of us in public welfare have learned is that a skilled supervisor can frequently obtain good casework from untrained staff who represent good basic material. If the child welfare field were today to be faced with the immediate possibility of great expansion, it would already have a strong nucleus of trained personnel who could provide leadership and who could, with the help of an expanded number of untrained persons at the worker level, produce a tremendous amount of good work for children. This is a potential which we must not overlook when we consider what we can and cannot tackle in extending child welfare services. There is no reason to think that our personnel problems are insuperable or that we cannot move ahead constructively because of them.

One of the other difficulties plaguing child welfare leadership in many states is the lack of administrative clarity which too frequently exists in state welfare departments. Throughout the country there is no consistent pattern of organization in these departments. Patterns vary with the nature of services, tradition, and the concepts of the current administrators. The important thing is that those in charge of the child welfare program have a clear area of administrative responsibility and that the organiza-

⁴ *Staff in Public Child Welfare Programs 1956*, Children's Bureau, Social Security Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Washington, D.C., 1956), p. 11.

tion be such that the child welfare unit can easily influence what is happening at a local level where services are applied.

One common problem arises out of the effort of state welfare administration to establish a direct line of supervision to local units which does not differentiate between programs. I do not quarrel with the need the state administrator has for such a direct line of supervision, nor do I think it unworkable to include with this line staff some basic responsibilities for carrying out child welfare operations. Problems arise, however, when this line staff begins to formulate policy in child welfare and when the child welfare unit is excluded from any responsibility for local operations.

In order to make its influence felt upon local programs, it is, in my opinion, a necessity that the child welfare unit have operational responsibility. This may be carried out through the line field staff, but if so the child welfare unit should have, in addition, consultant services which are made available both to the field staff and the local unit, thus keeping the state child welfare unit directly tied in to operations at a local level.

Another set of administrative problems center around relationships between local public welfare agencies and state agencies. These vary in nature, but the end result is a lack of influence by the state agency on the local operation. In some instances an excessive feeling of local autonomy may prevent necessary state leadership because the state agency is not provided with the powers and tools necessary to see that its policies are carried out. In other situations, leadership is not effective because the state agency does not take a clear-cut and definite stand and hesitates to take issue with local differences. I am strong in my opinion that child welfare should operate under the same administrative roof, both state and local, as other public social services. It seems to me entirely unrealistic in most parts of the country to think of two local public casework agencies, one for child welfare and one for other services. On the other hand, it also seems to me that we need to look carefully, and at once, at the basic administrative structure and legal framework in many states in order to be sure that they lend themselves to effective action in child welfare.

Closely allied to the problems in administration are those related to the financial structure. In contrast to public assistance, where the Federal Government is making major contributions to the actual cost of administration and assistance, in child welfare the bulk of the cost is carried by state and local governments. Federal funds, although they have increased over the years, are primarily stimulatory in nature and useful for developing new programs. I can see no logical reason why the Federal Government should not share in the cost of services and in the cost of administration of child welfare on a basis similar to that which has been used over the years for public assistance. Such a sharing of cost by the Federal Government would go a long way toward eliminating the present problems of coverage in child welfare. This would not in any way need to interfere with the present comparatively minor financial contributions of the Federal Government which serve the purpose of stimulating new child welfare services. There would be no reason why educational leave, for example, should not be expanded and there would be no reason why certain funds could not be left free, as they are now, for experimental uses by the states.

In the meantime, we certainly should lend our support to getting increased Federal funds within the existing structure. There is reason to think there are potentials for this in Congress at the present time, and chances of bringing about such increased funds rest, to a large degree, upon the vigor with which states express their needs.

I would also like to see states take a new look at the way in which they are using the Federal funds which they are now receiving. I would like to see this reassessment done in the light of the need for coverage and for broad child welfare services. It is my impression that considerable amounts of Federal funds are being used to staff established child welfare programs (particularly in foster care) which should have become a financial liability of the states many years ago. With funds tied up in support of the basic operation these states do not have money available to move into new and different kinds of programs. Such a review would, I think, be profitable in attaining our goals.

One of the important obstacles relating to the resources with which we have to work is the lack of public understanding of the needs of children and of our methods of dealing with them. Much has been done over the years to explain these matters to citizens, but we fall far short of investing the time, the energy, and the skill in this task that a major industry would if it had an idea to sell to the public. Until we do tell our story through the use of modern techniques, it is going to be difficult to gain enough public support for the broad extension of child welfare we must have.

Child welfare has been inhibited to some degree in this part of its job because of its close association with public assistance. The strong feeling of many people in the community against an assistance agency reaching out to distribute funds has made public welfare administrators extremely careful about the methods they use in public relations and, particularly, about the funds which they invest for this purpose.

Actually, the situation in child welfare is quite different from that in public assistance. In my opinion, most people would not resist the idea of public welfare reaching out to help a child, even if it cost some money. What is more appealing than a hungry child; a child without a home; a child in need of protection from destructive adults; a child to be saved from delinquency for good citizenship? These are the children we are here to serve. Their needs stir us and, if known, will stir others. There is no reason that I can see why public agencies should not devote substantially more time and effort to telling the story of these children and to explaining what has to be done if their needs are to be met.

The basic responsibility for presenting the needs of these children rests upon the people who know them, the people responsible for working in their behalf and for carrying out child welfare programs. Unless we speak out, it will be a long time before the public is sufficiently moved to demand the services which children must have.

I do not feel pessimistic about the future. True, child welfare is falling far short of meeting the obvious needs of children. We are faced with serious obstacles in our efforts to extend services to

fill these gaps. There is much, however, that we, the people responsible for these programs, can do to surmount these obstacles. Ordinary effort, however, will not get the necessary results. What we need is a modern Jane Addams with help from a few Lillian Wald's, Florence Kelley's, and Julia Lathrop's.

If we are going to obtain for the children of this age what they must have for their protection, we shall need the zeal of such pioneers as these. This means going on a modern crusade; this means not hesitating to take advantage of the interest of the day—such as the current public interest in delinquency control. We are operating in government; we have to obtain changes in laws and appropriations. We must not hesitate to use political skills and techniques in bringing about necessary action. Much must happen in behalf of children in the next few years, but if it is going to happen, we must first look to ourselves to take leadership in dealing with the obstacles that are today cutting off children from the basic essentials of happy living. If we will really throw ourselves into this crusade, I have every confidence that the public will join us in doing what is needed for children.

Is All Well with the American Family?

by JOSEPH H. REID

IS ALL WELL WITH THE AMERICAN FAMILY? There is a quick and accurate answer—"No!"

To me, that is but a partial answer. I believe that essentially the family is in remarkably good shape, considering the rapidity with which it has had to make major adjustments to the surging social and economic forces that in the past 200 years have transformed our country from a wilderness to the world's most productive, most industrialized nation. Today the family is a structure in transition, reflecting the stresses and confusion of a nation still seeking new values and ideals to replace those it has had to modify or discard. Just as we as a country have not yet fully recognized that all nations are interdependent, we have not yet accepted the fact that rugged individualism in family life is an anachronism.

Many will not agree that the family is in good shape. Some scientists believe that the family is disintegrating in a sick society. Others have pointed out that the family has accommodated itself remarkably well to radically changed economic demands. The latter view seems to be closest to the truth. However, in making the adjustments demanded of it, the family has lost many of the effective characteristics that formerly prevented family breakdown, such as the supports contained within the extended kinship-family of rural America and most European countries. Many of the buttresses protecting the family have not been replaced by society. As a consequence there are significant rising indices of family breakdown.

With 5 to 10 percent of our families, obviously all is not well: 3 to 4 percent of our population currently receive public assist-

ance; 16 million Americans are suffering from serious mental illness; 6 million children in the United States do not live with both parents; 378 thousand couples were divorced last year; there were 190 thousand illegitimate births in 1957; there are thousands of juvenile delinquents.

Obviously, all is not well. Cruelly buffeted by the accelerated pace of our American life, many families are bankrupt; others are in desperate need of bolstering if they are to be effective social organisms. The waste of precious human resources is obvious to any who will look around. For it is not statistics that mark the extent of family breakdown; it is each child or adult who does not realize his full potential—whether he is self-supporting or whether he is a public charge. It is the family, barren of the emotional vitality needed to nurture properly its children. It is the rootless, those who lack purpose and conviction, the cynical, the afraid, and the weak.

What lies behind these statistics? What are the causes? Where are the answers? A thousand treatises have been written on the subject. For the last twenty years, every National Conference of Social Work has faced these questions. Several major theses, however, demand attention as a base for understanding as well as for action.

The most important single cause of family breakdown, it seems to me, is the Industrial Revolution and all the concomitant changes which have taken place in social structure, values, morals, and mores. "Revolution" is here a precise term, for the family has been through, and still is caught in, a revolution.

Of late some of us have seemed to ignore it. Economic determinism as an explanation has yielded popularity to psychological explanations. For while the economic revolution was well under way, a revolution in the understanding of human personality was fired by Freud and his colleagues. Freud did not ignore the economy and culture in which man found himself, but many of us have.

Too often, lately, our profession and our society as a whole have tried to lay upon two individuals—a father and a mother—blame and cause for whatever is maladjusted, neurotic, and un-

acceptable in themselves or their children. We seem to be saying that most of the psychic ills of the human personality, and thus of the family, must be laid to whatever may transpire behind the doors of 15 Main Street. If a divorce takes place, it is because of what happened twenty years before in the Oedipal relationships within 15 Main Street. If a boy steals a car, the father at 15 Main Street obviously failed as a disciplinarian; an illegitimacy of a nineteen-year-old girl had its roots fifteen years before in her mother's refusal to accept her daughter's dependency. Much of this is true. But if we examine the broad social, cultural, and economic forces that have molded our family structure, just as surely as they molded the corporate organization of business, it would be just as valid to lay the illegitimacy, the delinquency, the divorce, at the door of Henry Ford's radical "five-dollar day" as at the door of the Oedipal conflicts, the repressions, and the psychosexual distortions of 15 Main Street.

No change has affected the family more than our transition from a rural and small-town culture to an essentially urban society. Over the entrance of the Union Station in Washington, D.C., are inscribed these words: "The farm: best home of the family; main source of national wealth; foundation of civilized society; the natural Providence." This building is but a little over fifty years old. At the time it was built, one third of our families lived in rural areas. Fifty years before that two thirds of our families were farmers. But by 1930, only one quarter of the population lived on and from the land; today just 12 percent do so.

In the past two years alone, over 2 million farm residents have migrated to the cities. The effects of this transition are far-reaching for the family, because traditional rural or small-town family life and the life of the family in the city have few similarities. We all know what that rural family was, but let us look at it again. To grossly oversimplify, it was a family that tended to stay put. It was usually composed of several generations as contrasted with the nuclear family of today—husband, wife, children, and perhaps a mother-in-law. It was the kinship or extended family that enjoyed the support, companionship, and cultural continuity of grandparents and great-grandparents, of aunts,

uncles, and cousins. It was a life of interdependence. People knew each other and aided one another. It was the small town where there were no strangers. It was a church with a pervading and powerful moral force on its constant congregation. It was a family in which each member had a recognized, essential job, where the roles of wife and husband and child were well-defined and vitally important. It was a family which spent almost all of its time together, found its own mutually shared recreation, carried on much of its own education, transmitted its own cultural values, and was largely dependent upon itself for the production of food and clothing.

This family had its own built-in unemployment insurance and OASI in its new generations. The elders were the home-grown marital counselors. This family provided its own baby-sitters, homemakers, and foster homes. When one of its members married, the new couple rarely left to fend for themselves. They simply became junior members of a well-established firm. Advice and supervision were always available and given freely. The family's social status was clear—to achieve and maintain respect, it simply had to support itself in decency, provide the essentials of life, be God-fearing. Its moral codes were clear and unrelenting, and enforced by all the community. It was not necessarily the perfect family. While it is true that its divorce rate was less than one third of what it is today, I suspect the number of husbands and wives who did not talk to each other for ten years was several times higher than it is today. But whatever its psychic difficulties, it was so constructed that it did not easily become disorganized and it was seldom subject to complete breakdown.

This was a good family, but for the most part it has become a museum piece for the same reason that dinosaurs are museum pieces. It could not survive a radical change in environment.

And what of today's family? Of course, no more than there was a hundred years ago, there is no single description that is comprehensive. There are 43 million American families, and they vary with all the richness that human differences and opportunities in a democracy permit. But all have been and still are subject in some measure to the radical changes that have taken

place in all aspects of American life in the past hundred years. Some families have had three, four, or five generations to assimilate and adjust to that change. Others, like the Puerto Ricans, have felt its full force in the few hours it takes to fly from San Juan to New York or, like the Southern Negroes, in the time it takes a bus to travel from the Mississippi Delta to Chicago.

Today's family is a very different family. The couple married out of romantic love. Their marriage was not arranged, as it once would have been, by their parents. This couple see their own parents perhaps once a year, and the rest of the relatives, for the most part, exist only as an annual Christmas card. They expect to move at least two or three times while their children are growing up, not infrequently to other states or even across the country. Our cultural pattern is such that it is almost taken for granted that the family will move if better opportunity is found elsewhere—a job with increased status, a better climate, or better educational opportunities for children. Family friends must be newly made, perhaps every two or three years.

The family must establish its own status. Few know, and fewer care, what the grandfather had achieved or who the great-grandfather had been. No generation-established reputation follows the family. Its status is almost wholly determined by the husband's achievement in his occupation. He cannot gain status simply by being a good provider of the necessities of life. He is expected to advance, to "be somebody," and to provide the necessary symbols of success—a car, a color TV set, a better neighborhood for his family to live in. What he does during most of his waking hours is almost unknown to his family, for in addition to working long hours to get ahead, he must often spend a good part of his day commuting. The more ambitiously he responds to the goals of his culture, the more apt he is to become detached from his family responsibilities. Even if the status of women had not changed, the husband could not realistically be the head of his household.

Recreation and education (including religious education) are provided by someone else. The children of the family are no longer an economic asset. The traditional roles of husband and

wife are no longer distinct, and each family must find its own balance. The wife no longer has a clear-cut role. The demand for industrial workers has taken millions of mothers into industry. At the same time her role as mother and housewife has been devalued—it is of low status. Often from her employment she may earn as much or more than her husband. The mores of the community, its patterns of sexual conduct, its standards and values are not so clear or so socially enforced as they once were. In essence, the family is alone, isolated, separated from relatives or those to whom it would be natural to turn for counsel. It must in large part make its own choices, vote its own decisions, establish its own values.

The strength of today's family is not derived from its being a vital economic unit, not from the number of persons having an investment in it. Its success, its strength, stems rather from the determination of two people to find satisfaction and fulfillment in their own companionship and in the nurture of their children.

It is a family that is ideally suited to modern, industrial, democratic life. It is mobile, it builds its strength within itself. It is not authoritarian. Its members, including its children, usually have a democratic part in making its necessary choices and decisions. It considers one of its main responsibilities to be the attainment of happiness, enabling its children to develop their capacities and their personalities to the fullest.

There are many indications that a stronger family is developing and that there has been no loss of faith in marriage. One indication is the increased number of children in young middle-class families. Another is the intense intercommunity life developing in the new suburb. The lowering age at which people are marrying today is also indicative. Too, it is significant that although we have a very high divorce rate, almost all who divorce marry again, and the rate of success for second marriages is quite high. The fact is that never before in our country's history has so large a proportion of the nation's population been married and living together.

While the family has been subjected to severe change by industrialization, it has also benefited enormously. It has made

great gains in its health, its use of leisure time, its knowledge of the world around it. Its educational opportunities are greater, it enjoys the products of electronic, chemical, and other industrial research.

Society has not been static; it has not been oblivious to the changes in our economy or to the changing needs of the family. Some of the elements of support which disappeared with the extended kinship-family have been replaced, at least in part. We do have a steadily improving social security system which includes unemployment insurance, OASI, and Aid to Dependent Children (ADC). We have a growing network of private and public social services. Laws have been passed to protect women in industry. Renewed vigor in our church organizations and the creation of new social units—parent-teacher associations, do-it-yourself clubs, adult education programs—all play a new important part in family life. Labor unions have done much to provide status and a sense of dignity for the employee, even though his job may not provide the same sense of satisfaction that a craftsman enjoyed. Industry is giving major attention to human engineering.

But too much of what has been provided is token only. The level of support provided to dependent children in ADC families is a mockery in most parts of the nation. No family dependent upon it can live in dignity and self-respect; the very level of subsistence provided is practically a guarantee of family breakdown. The current recession is already pointing up the inadequacies of our safeguards around unemployment. We have only begun to study and plan for those family members who have become the most isolated, the most left without function—the “stranded” aged.

One of the greatest deterrents to strengthening today's family is the confused notion that still exists concerning charity and social services. Basic social services are not charities; they are public utilities. With the advent of industrialization, including the development of the large commercial farm, the extended kinship-family had to be broken up. That family did have much of its social security system built in. For society to replace what it took away is as much or more in society's interest as it is in the

individual family's. For example, day care and homemaker services cannot be regarded as palliatives to relieve the lives of the poor, to be provided solely through efforts of private philanthropy. These are essential public services which are as much needed to protect the health of children and families as is pure water. We still are a long way from facing clearly the implication of social change. Seven million mothers are employed in industry, 2.5 million with children under six years of age. Whether this is good or bad in terms of child development, the trend exists. It is not likely to be reversed unless we as a people develop a clear understanding of the importance of a sustained mother-child relationship, particularly for the young child.

Women work for many reasons. They work for status, to gain personal satisfaction, to obtain the luxuries that have become necessities in so many communities—and millions work to enable their families to survive. When we do not provide adequate substitute care for children, we are promoting the breakdown of a certain number of families because of the resultant stresses and strains. Also industry and business have done little to develop flexible working hours that recognize the mother's family responsibilities.

We have not begun to wake up to the implications of 15 million families moving each year. Neighborhood business associations have provided the "Welcome Wagon," but the community itself has organized few counterparts to enable the new family to obtain the security of quickly becoming an active participant in community life. Neighborhood community organization is almost nonexistent. Where it does exist, it is because of the imagination of individual families themselves, not because those of us who call ourselves social workers or community organizers have provided the leadership so sorely needed. Readily available services are needed to provide counsel for the family in the difficult and inevitable problems of adjustment. Family agencies and child guidance clinics are again not a charitable luxury; they are essential public services, the necessity for which has been created by the same forces that have made our economy so strong.

Fundamental to the strength of tomorrow's family is a sense

of emotional security, of worth and dignity. Whatever destroys a child's confidence in society's regard for him, within the family or within the community, destroys tomorrow's family. For unless children receive the emotional nurture they require as children, they have nothing to give to their own children when they become parents.

Somehow we must convey more clearly to the public what the isolation of the American family means, particularly to the family that is in trouble—the terrible feeling of being alone, of hopelessness when society does not seem to care.

When we fail to provide a public assistance budget adequate for decent existence, when we ignore the slums that still blight most of our cities, when we regard the Negro, the Spanish-American, the Puerto Rican, the Indian, the migrant worker, as third-class citizens, when we point "alien" at new families through residence laws that deny them access to our community resources—each time we invite family breakdown. Not just today's family, but tomorrow's.

Unfortunately, there are still many among us who would like to believe that nothing is changed, who seem to think that if we just refuse to coddle the errant family by denying decent standards of public assistance, or by getting tough with the juvenile delinquent and throwing him in jail, somehow we will force the family to recapture the self-sufficiency of the traditional American family. As we continue to blind ourselves to change, we blind children to what democracy is, what we want for and from them.

There has been much public discussion of the need for research on the causes of juvenile delinquency and illegitimacy. There is no mystery about many of the contributory causes. What is required is research on why society is so unconscionably slow in removing them and why our professions, including social work, lag in leadership.

There are no panaceas for what our society must accomplish to strengthen the family. We cannot ignore the immense complexities both of the social forces within our society and of human personality; there is no easy way. We must do everything that can be done to prevent family breakdown. We must continue to provide

treatment and cure, help to those for whom prevention is too late.

But most of all, as a society we must strive to find our way, the reason for our existence. The Industrial Revolution, the Darwinian Revolution, and the Freudian Revolution have all blurred and obscured for many what that purpose is. The family's roots are no longer in the soil, and neither is its God so firmly fixed in His firmament. And a family that does not know its purpose for being, an adolescent who cannot determine what he is expected to become, needs to find much more than the best way to provide unemployment insurance.

I believe that today's family is a family in transition. It is confused, but it has vitality. It is searching, but it has faith. It is often battered and broken, but it is not afraid. It is having to find new values and new purpose, function, and form, but it is not paralyzed while it does so. It is a family that has responded to the demands of our industrial culture and has given up tradition and security in pursuit of a better life for its members. But it is still often unmercifully isolated and exposed. Its protection and defense are as vital, if not more so, to our country's security as is the defense of the free world against the atom bomb. Let us take our share of responsibility for seeing that it gets it.

Prerequisites for Strong Family Life

by *ROBERT H. MacRAE*

ALL IS NOT WELL with the American family. In spite of the split-level house with the backyard barbecue, the new station wagon, and the 27-inch TV, family breakdown persists. Economic security in the shape of an abundance of things is no guarantee against divorce, desertion, and delinquency. This is not to say that economic insecurity is a positive good to be sought. It is to say, however, that wholesome family life requires far more than economic well-being. This is not some blinding new insight lately come to social workers. We have long been aware that affection, maturity, and understanding are other considerations essential to successful family life.

As social workers we believe we could do much to ease the anguish of family breakdown if society would make available to us the tools to do the job—tools in the form of money and trained manpower. Many of us dream of the day when the Aid to Dependent Children program will have a well-trained casework staff adequate in size to help 2 million of America's most deprived children grow in emotional security and maturity. We long for the time when there will be more nearly adequate treatment centers to help the emotionally disturbed adolescents whose violence makes them a menace to society and to themselves. We yearn for the time when the schoolteacher will identify, at an early stage, emerging emotional problems and refer children for treatment with the assurance that treatment will be available. We fondly hope for the time when family counseling services will reach tens of thousands of troubled families rather than the thousands now given help. We look forward to the expansion of leisure-time services to ease the tensions of urban life and provide

the wholesome group experience essential to an interdependent society.

All these services and many more social work has the competence to provide if additional money and trained workers were made available to us. Our dreams will always outrace our realizations. This is inevitable and this is good. Yet all the services I have mentioned, with one exception, are essentially treatment after breakdown. As social workers we have long been preoccupied with patching up the broken humanity coming to us. This is natural. It is what society has expected of us. It is what we must continue to do. Nevertheless, we have arrived at a stage of maturity when we must add a new element to our practice. There must be a more compelling concern for prevention of individual and family breakdown at the earliest possible time.

In an earlier period social work was almost exclusively concerned with human problems resulting from poverty. Now the United States and Canada have gone far in dealing constructively with poverty even though it will always be with us. Increasingly, the task of social work is concerned with problems of social disorientation. This disorientation is reflected in divorce, delinquency, mental breakdown, and the inner tensions which destroy effective living for millions of people. It is idle to believe this overwhelming burden of social disorientation can ever be met fully by the traditional one-to-one helping relationship. It is time for us to think through and develop a new level of social work practice to be added to those now in use.

This new role I covet for social workers is that of social educator. The potential of this role excites me because it holds promise of preventing emotional disability and enabling effective living. We know better than we do. We now possess the insights of mental hygiene and health education. We know the values of premarital counseling, of sex education, of education for parenthood and family life. We know a good deal about the dynamics of human behavior and about social causation. These insights have not been integrated into a new discipline for a new kind of social worker. I see this new kind of social worker engaged in group practice. I see a well-defined educational process which enables

people to understand themselves and their behavior more adequately. I see people gaining insights into their relationships in the home, on the job, in the community. I have no doubt of the eagerness of hundreds of thousands of people to seek this wider understanding. I have no doubt that creative and imaginative social educational methods can be devised.

I can almost hear you muttering, quietly of course, about foggy generalities and moonbeam stuff. In a measure you are right. This is the stuff of dreams. It is a generality. Yet an earlier generation of social workers was captured by a dream of the possibilities of successful treatment services. Out of that dream came the organization of a curriculum and the development of the remarkable subtleties of casework practice. If we dream with equal passion and with equal grounding in knowledge, we too can develop a new kind of practice. We shall need to define our objectives carefully, assess the available insights, build a curriculum in professional schools, and experiment with methods in agencies. A dream needs to be translated into a working program. It will require imagination, creative faith, and an enormous amount of hard work. We can be sustained by a vision of men with better opportunities for self-realization and self-fulfillment. We can see men and women set free of the tensions and fears which destroy them. Is this idealistic? Of course it is, but it is not utopian. It is a challenge to contribute as magnificently as did earlier generations of social workers. They dreamed of treating human ills and they succeeded. There is much we are adding to the further development of this knowledge and skill in practice. We can dream of prevention and we can succeed if we work as diligently and intelligently as they did.

It also seems to me we must add to this new kind of practice of the social educator a fresh concern with social action. No labored argument is necessary to point out the social conditions in our communities which contribute to family breakdown. Time was when social workers only had to hear the battle cry and they sprang into social action. We have lost that ardor for reform in recent years. I suggest we must recapture it.

The considerations which I have just mentioned are within

the competence and reach of social work. Because we are sensitive to human problems we have the capacity to be creative about them. Furthermore, we have the responsibility of leadership in searching for solutions. There are, however, other dominating problems of our time which are far beyond our professional competence. Yet the prevention of family breakdown depends largely on the solution of these enormous problems. In facing these issues we face them as intelligent citizens of a republic with the responsibilities of citizenship.

Among the social prerequisites for strong family life social workers call for a reasonable degree of economic security for all men and women. Those of us who served in relief operations during the great depression of the 1930s can never forget the anguish of those days. We saw corrosive anxiety and loss of self-respect tear families apart. We know the deep scars this experience left on the lives of an entire generation. The intervening years of high employment have caused some people to forget the nightmare of the 1930s. These people speak casually of 5 million unemployed today as a "rolling adjustment." Some have even had the temerity to speak of the "shake-out" as a good thing for the economy. Social workers reject this callous and impersonal appraisal. We have seen the haunting fears and devastating anxieties of families without jobs. True, we are better prepared now than we were in the 1930s. True, America and Canada have gone far in reducing stark poverty. We rejoice in that. Yet, in retrospect, we see how largely our prosperity has been tied to production for war. We cannot believe an economy dependent upon war can be a good economy. As social workers we must help the community understand the human costs of unemployment. We believe industrial genius and statesmanship can devise an economy which will maintain continuously a high level of employment. This must be a common goal—believed in, sought for, and attained.

May I suggest also that those compelled to seek relief should have some security in their right to adequate standards of relief. Must they always be vilified as worthless ne'er-do-wells, shunted about as unwelcome burdens? Must we fight over and over again the battles for relief standards that will maintain health and

decency? Must we perennially face regression to outmoded policies and procedures for administration of public assistance? How can we build secure and loyal citizens when dependent peoples must face these indignities? These are questions which must be answered in a good society.

Now let us turn to a second of the social prerequisites for sound family life. It is nothing less than peace in the world.

No one of us can be indifferent to the problems of peace and war. Not only does war have sharp impact on our personal lives, it also increases enormously our professional responsibilities. What is a greater contribution to family breakdown than the colossal stupidity of war! We are still struggling with the backwash of the Second World War and we will continue to do so for years to come. When war does not take life, it distorts and cripples it. We have an awareness of the truth of these things. Yet we have the sensation of being caught up in a steady, relentless drift toward war. To speak of peace is to become suspect. The Soviet Union has made a mockery of the word. To speak of peace is even treasonable in the eyes of superpatriots. A nation which can be transfixed with anxiety for a small boy trapped in a well does not flinch at the thought of incinerating hundreds of thousands of people with a single bomb. We have become coarsened and benumbed. We stumble from crisis to crisis. The comforting thought of our dominant superiority in weapons has been blasted. We are face to face with the probability of nuclear war. We live in a "balance-of-terror" world.

While I make no pretense to expertness, it seems to me there are at least three positions which can be taken in this frightening crisis. First, there can be a fatalistic acceptance of total war with the hope that somehow we shall survive. This alternative carries with it a commitment to maintain indefinitely the present or even higher levels of expenditures for armament. It is an alternative based on a belief that we can build and maintain a decisive superiority in weapons. It ignores, however, the fact that nuclear weapons have introduced a new dimension into warfare never before found in human history. Second, we can resign ourselves to the fact of ruthless Soviet power and accept a second-class power

status. Basically, this is surrender before a shot is fired. It is difficult to believe this will be an acceptable policy. We are not a peace-at-any-price people. Third, we can accept the fact that for an indefinite period of time we must live in a continuing state of high tension, letting time bring resolutions which cannot be faced quickly. This will be a difficult position for the American public to accept. We are an impatient people, seeking quick and total answers. There are, unfortunately, no simple remedies for these complex problems; no total remedies.

It seems to me that we must accept this third alternative. It is in this framework our diplomacy must work. We must have a creative and flexible diplomacy which captures the imagination of the people of the world. It cannot be a diplomacy marked by pious truculence, monotonous inflexibility, or irritating moralizing. It must be a diplomacy which can act with the consciousness of broad public support. As a people we must be prepared to accept the necessity of compromise, for we cannot dictate peace. We must not expect total solutions or spectacular progress toward a general settlement. We must accept the necessity of slow and tortuous progress through accommodations within narrow limits. This will require a maturity and a discipline we have never before been required to exhibit. Impatience and haste for short cuts can mean disaster. It is at this point that social work does have a contribution to make. We can help our clients handle their tensions and be prepared for life in an era of cocked guns. As social workers we can increasingly share our insights into human behavior. I am not being entirely facetious when I say the State Department could profit from the hard-won insights of our hard-to-reach-youth workers and the practitioners of aggressive casework. We know a good deal about the cultural patterns, the motivations, the personality needs of our "shook-up generation." Because we know we can reach them with a fair degree of success. There are dead-end kids in the Kremlin also.

Negotiations with the same insights along with flexibility and imagination are components of success. Finally, as citizens we can give thoughtful support to a diplomacy that works in this patient, step-by-step approach toward accommodation.

For my own part, I would add one other conviction. It has become a truism to observe that we live in an interdependent world. In order to survive, such a world must surely come under the rule of law. If continuance of undiminished national sovereignty means war, then I am ready to see a reduction in that sovereignty. I am a member of the human race before I am an American. Common humanity, ultimately and soon, must transcend national sovereignties in the kind of world we now inhabit.

I turn now to a third social prerequisite for sound family life. We must move steadily and surely toward the elimination of racial discrimination. There is a tide moving in this direction, but it is meeting massive resistance from those who cannot contemplate a sharing of privileges. Social workers have seen the bitterness, the frustration, the lack of self-respect which accompany discrimination. We have seen self-fulfillment denied. We have seen youngsters bruised and permanently scarred by the ugly practices of discrimination. As a profession we are committed to helping people realize their potentialities and to finding happy, satisfying, and socially useful lives. We cannot square this goal with the fact of discrimination. As social workers we can help the general public understand the evil effects of discrimination. We can break down discriminatory practices in our own agencies. We can maintain the kind of personal relationships with minority group members that give visible evidence of our faith in a society of equal opportunity. These actions are steps in the building of strong family life. The scandal of discrimination must go, and we must help it go.

And now, finally, let me mention one more social prerequisite for sound family life. For lack of a better term I shall call it "spiritual security." We have inherited from earlier generations of Western men a set of ethical convictions which have been regarded as central and essential to a democratic society. We often forget that these ethical convictions grew out of a religious philosophy which many men of the twentieth century have discarded. As a result we have produced, to use Elton Trueblood's vivid phrase, "a cut flower civilization." Such a civilization in a period of crisis finds itself cut off from sustaining roots. In our

time we find great numbers of people spiritually adrift without a philosophy which gives meaning and purpose to life. I am not suggesting a return to outworn and no longer meaningful ritualisms. For some, the traditional orthodoxies of religious faith are sufficient. Others must undertake the painful pilgrimage toward a new form of faith. I suggest all of us need a central faith and a system of values which recognizes the spiritual dimension of life. On this we can build a life and a society which will stand in a time of crisis.

Almost two centuries ago this country was caught up in one of the great revolutionary periods of human history. Thirteen divided colonies were galvanized by that brilliant pamphleteer Thomas Paine. On one occasion Paine wrote as follows: "An army of principles will penetrate where an army of soldiers cannot. It will succeed where diplomatic management would fail; neither the Rhine, the Channel nor the ocean can avert its progress; it will march on the horizon of the world, and it will conquer."

Social work is a reflection of great principles translated into action. Social work could not long endure without belief in the concept of the brotherhood of man. It exists because of the high estimate our society places on the value of human personality. Social work rests upon a belief in the extraordinary potentialities which reside in very ordinary people. It believes in the possibilities of human growth and the capacity for self-determination. These principles still have the capacity to stir human imagination. They have lighted spiritual fires which still burn brightly. Our generation must not let those fires flicker out. Although we live in a world which relies on brute force, it is well for us to remember the power of ideas. As Paine has put it so eloquently, principles that "march on the horizon of the world" and that will conquer.

Family Diagnosis: Some Problems

by HELEN HARRIS PERLMAN

THE TERM "FAMILY DIAGNOSIS" is on the tongue of every caseworker today. As with virtue, we are, all of us, for it; but, also as with virtue, it is more easily subscribed to than achieved. This is no wonder. For the family, even a small family of three, is a complicated network. And diagnosis, even diagnosis of one person in a situation, is a complicated discipline. Diagnosis of a family is complex even for the social researcher who has only to observe or inquire and analyze. For the social caseworker who has to be helpful at the same time that he observes and analyzes it is a most difficult task indeed.

Yet we have become increasingly interested and involved in this task, not because it is the latest fad but out of our growing awareness, understanding, and concern about family life. We in social work have long been committed to the welfare of the family as the end toward which our efforts are pointed. In recent years we have been even more keenly aware that to humanize man and to counteract the barbarizing influences in our present-day world the family must be strengthened in its nurturing and socializing functions. But during the long period in which we were immersed in the theories of individual psychology we tended to see the family as shadowy figures in the background of the client who was in the spotlight of our interest. Today, however, due to forces within our field and outside it, we have achieved the three-dimensional vision, both disturbing and exciting, which brings client, family, and situation into forefront, now one and now the other demanding our attention.

Several factors play into our present concern with family diag-

nosis. The first is our conclusion, drawn from intensive work with individual clients, that no family member is an island unto himself, that what happens to him, good or bad, affects his place and operations in his family, and affects the attitudes and behavior of the other family members; and that the opposite is also true, that family fortunes and interaction heavily determine the individual's ill- or well-being. We might have known this from a careful examination of our own family lives, especially at times of crisis or stress when certain taken-for-granted relationships leap into bold relief. But it was chiefly as we began to examine the failures and success in our casework endeavors that we began to recognize with new interest the living environment with which our client is in continuous interaction.

To new interest was added new insight, because in the period when social casework was concentrating on individual psychology the social sciences and dynamic psychiatry were also coming together and learning from one another. The happy result of this transaction was twofold—psychiatry come to see and understand more of the outer world; social science, more of the inner world. After many years of noncommunication, an invigorated social science was able to speak to us in language which we understood, and to offer ideas which seemed compatible with ours. In a few short years the behavioral sciences have set before us the results of studies and consequent propositions which vitally enrich—perhaps at moments even glut—our insights into family life. The evidences that family and individual standards, values, and goals are the product of ethnic, class, and cultural group and subgroup identification open new areas for our explorations in the family we undertake to help. The recognition that social workers themselves are members of such groups and, moreover, are shaped and moved by their special professional culture forces us to sharper self-scrutiny. The concept of role performance and interaction holds the promise of a unifying, organizing way of viewing the human personality in its social operations and of identifying social casework's special functions. The studies of small groups offer the possibility of new ways by which to view, explain, and deal with the dynamics of family life. Current research on families in crisis

and their coping efforts bears immediately on casework's major concerns and on our problem-solving efforts.

In a recent article¹ there is recalled for us a comment Mary Richmond often made to the effect that charity had originally been in the trap of the clergy, had escaped, only to slip into the noose of the economist, had freed itself again, and she hoped it could avoid the lasso of the psychiatrist. If I may presume to extend her comment, I would add that today we may be in danger of being caught in the many-threaded network of the behavioral sciences. Our problem, like that which we experienced when psychiatry opened to us, is the problem of keeping our feet flatly planted in our own field of endeavor at the same time that our eyes, ears, and minds open wider to perceive and take in from outside that field that which is useful to the performance of our particular job.

To take in and digest new knowledge, to apply it discriminately, to involve ourselves in simultaneously studying and dealing with the complexities of families in action, and to keep our professional footing means that we must set some realistic limits on what we undertake to do. What I am searching for is some idea by which we can give realistic boundary to the complexity of family diagnosis.

The first question is: Where do we begin in the study of a family, and where do we leave off? How can we avoid becoming sucked into a whirlpool of facts and insights about the dynamics of a family's life and how can we bring our diagnostic inquiry within bounds so that we can get on with the job for which we and the family have met?

"The job for which we and the family have met" offers our first framework and boundary. A family may come under the diagnostic purview of many kinds of observers and be evaluated in a number of different ways. The social psychologist may particularly focus on its system of role interactions. The cultural anthropologist may view its value orientations. The social economist

¹ Muriel W. Pumphrey, "Mary Richmond's Process of Conceptualization," *Social Casework*, XXXVIII (1957), 399-406.

may examine it as a unit of goods consumption. Any one or all of these may, as indeed they have, come out with findings or propositions that vividly illuminate or vitally shape the work of social caseworkers with families. But each profession must and does view its subject matter within the framework of its particular body of knowledge and also in direct relation to its professional purpose.

Thus the social caseworker's view of the family, the facts we will seek in any individual family situation, and our assessment of those facts, must be shaped by our special function. Our function is that of helping families or their individual members to cope with some problem they are encountering in their social living. In the practice of social casework, then, family diagnosis need not attempt always to account for all the social-economic-cultural-personality-role interactions which may be operating within any family group. It needs, rather, to be a highly selective effort, focused by the purpose of designing casework action in relation to specified problems and in relation to the kind of help casework can give or make available.

Perhaps you will think I am setting up a straw man here. But I am moved to this restatement of what may be the obvious by two considerations: one is that an examination of the recent literature on family diagnosis suggests so many areas of possible study of the family as to dizzy the practitioner's mind and certainly to confuse his diagnostic practice; the other is that at a national meeting not long ago caseworkers were accused of doing such feeble diagnostic studies of the family as to make their records useless for research in family life. The reaction among us, conscience-ridden as we social workers are, was one of general shamefacedness. Against the possibility of such future accusations, whether from the outside or from among ourselves, I think we must know quite clearly that our family studies and our recording of those studies are not designed for research purposes. The observations we make in our everyday intimate experiences with family life may well pose the vital questions for research. Moreover, at certain times and places we may undertake research func-

tions. Then our diagnostic studies will be specifically shaped to the questions posed. Otherwise, they must be shaped and bounded by the purposes of helping a family to solve its problems.

The family which becomes known to the caseworker is a family in trouble. Some problem has occurred or has come to a head which threatens or actually undermines the family's socialization, protection, or affectional functions. It may be that only one member is failing to meet his personal or social expectations. But as long as that one person is in any vital relationship with his family the impact of his problems will, in varying degree, be felt within the family group. Added to the stress which accompanies any problem are the distress and frustration of lacking or being unable to mobilize the means of dealing with it. Depending on his personality make-up, status, and role, every family member will be affected in some different quality and degree by this always dual problem. Each member will assume some position or relationship to the problem, varying from intense involvement all the way to studied indifference, and including that of the family members (the children, for example) who may know nothing about the problem but sense everything in the tensions it breeds. At the same time that each family member is relating to the problem, he is interacting with other family members. Any of us who have observed families under stress know that stress may either intensify certain usual interaction patterns or call out new ones. In either case the problem serves as a focal area within which family interaction is highlighted. Or, to put it another way, the problem becomes a magnet point of convergence and mobilization of person-to-person, person-to-problem relationships. The way the problem is seen and felt by key and subordinate family members, their involved or detached relating to the problem, the ways they relate to one another within the problem's orbit, the assignments of responsibility or blame, the defensive or adaptive alignments among members—it is these which provide the caseworker with the necessary understanding of the family in its cause-effect relationships to its dilemma.

It would follow, then, that a major focus of casework diagnosis of a family is that of the family's interaction with the problem in

the center of its concern. This is an interaction caught and held in the intense white spotlight of tension and immediacy. It yields, then, a diagnosis which bears at once on the question of what needs to be done, how, and by whom, all in relation to the problem-to-be-worked.

I propose the idea of the "problem-to-be-worked" as another step in bringing the caseworker's manifold responsibilities within some manageable bounds. We encounter families whose many problems chase one another in a vicious spiral of cause-effect and other families where one massive problem pervades all aspects of family life. In either case, if we are to avoid diffusion or a sense of hopelessness we need to partialize the problem in some way, for while it is often possible to *see* the whole problem it is rarely possible to *work* the whole problem at once. We must attempt to achieve direction by bringing some piece of the difficulty into the center of our attention. This part of the problem is decided on by joint discussion and agreement between the caseworker and his client, as a portion to be dealt with at a given time. What is selected out is not necessarily the basic or most important problem, nor is it necessarily the one which will remain central. It should, however, have a clear and vital connection with the major problem to which help is aimed. But it is a part given priority either because it is what the client himself wants help with, or because it seems least threatening to the client, or because it offers the quickest possibility for release of stress and demonstration of casework helpfulness. The chief reason for focusing client and casework effort on one part of a problem at a time is that the egos of both client and caseworker can better perceive, taste, chew over, and digest small morsels than huge chunks of difficulty.

The partialized problem, that which at any given time in the conduct of a case is taken as the problem-to-be-worked, offers a small cross section within which we may view and appraise the essential facts of the nature of that problem, its relation to family or individual needs and circumstances, its effect on the welfare of the family and its individual members, and the cross-current, cause-effect interaction between it and the people and situations involved in it. As a shift of focus occurs and another aspect or

kind of problem becomes the center of attention, shifts may occur in the relationships of and among family members to that changed focus. Then the caseworker will shift his diagnostic examination to appraise these new alignments.

As soon as we recognize that family members' roles in relation to differing problems may shift, a second question arises: Who is our client, who at any given time in a case is to take the role of chief problem-solver? And as soon as we recognize that the implications of family diagnosis are that family treatment is to be designed, the question arises as to how to manage treatment of more than one person at a time.

There are, we know, numerous try-outs across the country in which caseworkers interview two or three family members at once. The diagnostic values of these interviews are manifest. Not yet so manifest are the ways in which they may be made truly problem-solving experiences rather than discussions where the caseworker's interest pivots from one to another family member in turn. There is, too, an encouraging revival of home visiting, where family members may be seen in spontaneous relation to one another and to their usual physical and social surroundings. Here again, the diagnostic usefulness stands out. But, except for clients who cannot or will not come to an office, we have not yet explored whether there are treatment values in home interviews, or whether the presence of the baby, the mother-in-law, and the puppy promote or thwart family treatment. The growing knowledge about the dynamics and conduct of small groups may one of these days help caseworkers to deal with certain family problems by group interviewing. But as of today, our treatment of the family is through interviews with one person or, at most, two at one time.

By what criterion is such a person to be selected from the family group? Is it to be the one whose discomfort has pushed him to make the application? We know that the most needful is not necessarily the most capable or potent family member. Is it to be the one who creates the problem? We know, too, that the person who may be the chief cause of the problem may not be willing or able to take part in the work of resolving it. And we

know further that, depending on what the problem is, certain family members will be in greater and others in lesser relationship to it.

Out of our new understanding of the idea of role, one major criterion suggests itself: that the family member(s) who is to be our primary client at any given time in a case should be he whose family role is most cogently related to the problem-to-be-worked and whose adequate role functioning involves the necessity that he take problem-solving responsibility. Thus, in a marital maladjustment the two persons whose roles are involved must inevitably be the clients; when a child is in difficulty both mother and father, in their parental roles, must be involved; in an economic difficulty the person whose role in the family is normally that of breadwinner must take primary responsibility in the casework arrangements and planning. When exceptions to this rule occur, as occasionally they will, it will be because the person who should be carrying certain role responsibilities has relinquished them because of his inability or unwillingness to do so. Then this will call for our professional judgment as to whether or not, in the interests of family welfare, this incapacity or resistance itself becomes a problem with which we must deal.

The moment that the family with a problem reaches outside itself for a social agency's help a new factor enters the family's life, the dynamic factor of casework intervention. The caseworker, by his person and by what he represents, injects into the family circle another interaction situation. For those family members who seek and those who are aware of the caseworker and agency a number of new alignments and attitudes may be formed, consciously or unconsciously. The caseworker is perceived not only as a person who may be trusted or distrusted, looked toward hopefully or fearfully, but also as representing a certain kind of help, given under certain auspices, as having a certain role, class, and cultural identity and expectations. Any of these perceptions may evoke positive, negative, or mixed feelings among various family members. As soon as he steps in, what the caseworker says to or does for only one family member will have repercussions

among the others, and in response to these, family attitudes arise, behaviors change, roles shift, sometimes imperceptibly, sometimes clearly.

All of us have experienced this phenomenon. We know the parents of an adolescent in casework treatment who, even though they want him to be helped, subtly undermine his relationship with the caseworker if they feel that it is threatening their authority. We know the woman who begins to use the caseworker and agency as her source of both economic and psychological support and who grows, thereby, detached or indifferent to her inadequate husband. We know couples whose marital rifts widen as what the caseworker is alleged to have said or done becomes an additional weapon in the conflict. And, happily, we also know situations where family members shoulder and carry their proper responsibilities out of some wish to win approval in the caseworker's eyes, and where because of the hope and release of stress which the caseworker brings to one member, others in the family mobilize their dissipated energies and begin to tackle their part of the problem.

Affecting the interaction between the family and casework help further is the fact that sometimes the solution itself presents a new kind of problem. Solutions to our human dilemmas are rarely perfect ones. They are more often partial adaptations and compromises between persons and problem situations than actual erasures of difficulties. They usually require that we face the realistic limits to our wants and goals at the same time that we invest ourselves as fully as possible in achieving them. So, too, with our client. At moments in the process of working with the caseworker he may feel sustained and encouraged, at others threatened and resistive; at times the medicine may seem worse than the disease, at others there may be a sense of mastery even when only a partial goal is achieved. In short, the conditions and prospects of using help may in themselves be problematic, but in any case they evoke attitudes, feelings, and behavior in the client. These will affect the other members of his family when their well-being is bound to his.

What all this suggests, then, is a second vital dimension of

family diagnosis in casework practice, a diagnosis continuing throughout the life of a case. It is diagnosis of the family's interaction with its problem-solving tasks and with casework help.

This is a difficult kind of appraisal. Like the diagnosis of the family in relation to the problem-to-be-worked it is dynamic in the truest sense, because it attempts to capture and account for a number of persons and factors in movement and in relation to one another. But now, the diagnoser himself is part of the interaction, as observer and participant—and let no one underestimate what sensitive perception and adaptability that role requires.

Throughout the life of a case we must keep our diagnostic eye on what is happening to the course of treatment as a result of attitudes and actions within the family, and what is happening to the family as a result of treatment. That the individual person with whom we are working will require continuous appraisal in terms of his motivation and capacity and of the personality attributes which enhance or hinder his functioning—this goes without saying. But surrounding him are those persons and circumstances which affect and are affected by what he and the caseworker are doing together. We will need over and over again, then, to learn either from the client himself or by firsthand inquiry these kinds of facts: the attitudes of those other family members with major involvement in the problem toward the help being given and the ends being sought; the interactions between those members and the family representative, our client—that is, the ways in which they support or undermine his efforts at problem-solving; what factors of role, personality, family standards, and values play into the acceptance or rejection of the help being offered; the psychological or material resources within the immediate family or its milieu which can be drawn upon to bolster adaptation or to cushion setbacks; the psychological or material poverty or disorganization which hampers adaptation; what lessening or increase of stress occurs within the family as change takes place in its social circumstances or in the attitudes and behavior of its members; what shifts and transitions in relation to goals occur within the family as treatment goes forward. The purpose of such diagnosis, of course, is not just to understand

these interactions but to understand so as to be able to deal with those factors that bear upon the progress of our client's problem-solving efforts and on the welfare of his family.

Within these two limited dimensions of family diagnosis in casework we will need at one and another time to use all the new insights with which the behavioral sciences are enriching our own tried knowledge. How a family perceives and relates to its problems and how it perceives and relates to casework help will be heavily determined by its ethnic, class, and culture orientations. How individual members carry, or fail to carry, their social functions will depend upon their conceptions of and their ability to perform their roles. This, in turn, will be heavily affected by individual personality make-up and drives, by the ways personalities combine or conflict in their reciprocal relationships. The resources and means that exist or that are missing in the family's living environment depend upon its economic status, the groups in which it has membership, the immediate and extended community in which it lives. In short, our knowledge by which to understand family life must be broad and deep and diversified. But the application and use of that knowledge must be selective and pointed.

This opens other questions: Do items to be covered in family diagnosis differ from case to case? And do all cases where an applicant is a member of a family call for a family diagnosis? Like the diagnosis of the individual, family diagnosis must be a differential diagnosis, differing from one case to the next by the nature of the problem brought for solution, by what the client seeks, and by what the agency can undertake to do. Again, then, the "what" and the "how much" of diagnostic coverage must be determined by the problem-to-be-worked at any given time.

A need of which we are increasingly aware is for the development of classifications by which individual and family problems may be characterized. Such classification would provide us with the first rough gauge by which to differentiate the particular focus of family diagnosis in certain types of cases. It already seems evident, for example, that problems of interpersonal conflict—between marriage partners, parents and children, or between

family members and such outsiders as employers and teachers—call for a particular understanding of role performance as well as of the personality dynamics that underlie the malfunctioning in such cases. Actually, the literature on family diagnosis thus far has dealt almost exclusively with interpersonal conflict. There are, however, other kinds of problems which are brought to casework where the necessity for, and the nature and extent of, family diagnosis is far less clear. There is that group of situations, for example, where healthy family balance is thrown askew chiefly by some crisis or by the loss of means for sustaining normal family functions. Can we generalize as to the extent and focus of family diagnosis in these cases? Is it the same, or in what ways is it different from that in cases where the problems are those of interpersonal conflict? There are other groups of cases where persons are physically separated from, but psychologically tied to, their families, and others where people live in psychological isolation although they share family bed and board. There is a group of situations where the interrelations between personality, role malfunctioning, and social disorganization are so tangled as to cause and effect as to make the conundrum of the chicken and the egg seem simple. What differing aspects and emphases of family diagnosis does each of these types of situations call for?

These questions demand our further thinking and decision. But at our doors, asking for help, are people in trouble. It is in the effort to prepare ourselves to help them as readily and effectively as possible that I have tried to carve out these two dimensions of family diagnosis which seem to me to be basic and essential for casework practice with family members, whatever the problem: the diagnosis of the family group and situation in its interaction with the problem-to-be-worked, and the diagnosis of the family group and situation in its interaction with the problem-solving persons (that is, the caseworker and the primary client), the process, and the goals.

This will not yield all the knowledge about family structure and dynamics which the social scientist or social work researcher seeks. It will not give us a longitudinal picture of the family in its generation-patterned behavior, or a complete latitudinal survey

of all areas of family functioning. It will not provide standardized data about the cultural, developmental, and functional aspects of family life. These would, perhaps, be our charge as research workers on the family, but it is not our charge as caseworkers. Our diagnostic boundaries are drawn by our treatment means and goals. It is only as we remember this that we will not be tempted, as at times in our past we have been, to substitute viewing for doing.

Within each of these relatively limited areas of diagnosis, I suggest, there is captured a segment of family life in focused, highlighted motion. Within this cross section all the relevant interplay of social, psychological, cultural, and physical forces may be seen and assessed. So the caseworker will need to bring to it all the pertinent knowledge he can draw from studies of the family. But he will need, too, to apply that knowledge with fine discrimination because he will be attempting to assess a particular family group in its specific relationship to a specified problem and specified problem-solving means.

This selective, focused, purposeful study, case by case, may result in our development of considerable understanding of the dynamics of family living—not just of the structures and patterns of families, their “being,” but of their inner workings. We may develop a particular knowledge of how families are affected by the problems they cannot deal with by themselves, and of how family roles and lines of power organize, shift, adapt, and reorganize under the impact of stress and with the injection of material or psychological help. Our foremost charge is to restore, reinforce, and promote sound family life. Yet it occurs to me that our special diagnostic focus on the family in its problem-solving activities may be social casework’s unique contribution to a general understanding of family life.

The "Hopeless" Family

by KERMIT T. WILTSE

WE MUST DECIDE, first, what we mean by "hopeless." Where is the hopelessness located? Is it in the feelings of the family or of the social worker seeking to help them? Or is "hopeless case" a label placed upon a family by the community, an aura that has grown up around a family through years of frustration to social agencies and aggravation to schools, clinics, and courts?

The word "hopeless," to which Webster gives the meaning "destitute of hope; despairing," suggests a state of mind of someone whose perception of a situation leads him to the conclusion of the futility of further effort. This state of mind may be shared by the person or persons experiencing the situation and those who seek to help them change it, in this instance the family and the social worker. And since hopefulness is always goal-directed, if either the family or the social worker is feeling hopeless this feeling may be in relation to quite different goals.

The meaning of hopelessness we have taken for our purposes is that the despair and frustration are, first of all, experienced by the social worker whether or not the family experiences them to the same degree, or in relation to the same or different goals; and that the goals which the social worker is feeling hopeless of helping the family reach are society's general expectations that every family maintain reasonable conformity with community standards, especially in the care and rearing of children.

One way to attack the subject is to develop a polemic on the point that there is no such thing as hopeless families or hopeless cases, only hopeless social workers. Social workers lacking in sufficient conviction of the essential mutability of all human behavior, or lacking in the desire or the capacity to strive to reach

the difficult cases, could be held up as bad examples of the profession and excoriated. To make the essential point that there is no such thing as a hopeless family, numerous examples could be marshaled from personal experience of successful efforts to effect improvement in situations deemed hopeless. The clinching point would be that the feeling on the part of the social worker that a family's situation is hopeless of improvement is the real problem, the true hallmark of hopelessness.

This would be the conventional approach, and it holds much merit. The social work profession must repeatedly examine itself to detect influences that have crept into the folklore of the profession and into ways the social services have organized themselves that actually prevent workers and agencies from reaching certain types of families about which the community as a whole may be most concerned. Alluded to might be the experience of the New York City Youth Board¹ and the initial difficulty it experienced in developing social agency interest in devoting resources to reach the families designated "hard to reach"; and the apparent inability of many social workers to work effectively with the involuntary client, or their definite resistance to attempting it.

This conventional approach would conclude with a description of a case in which there was a successful effort to engender movement toward better social functioning with a family that had been considered hopeless and with a final demand that the profession continuously examine the efficacy of its traditional methods and techniques. This demand deserves to be restated frequently.

A different approach has been chosen. We will attempt to delineate a type of social problem family which challenges our best professional efforts. The semantic problem of whether this type of situation is or is not hopeless will not occupy the center of the stage. Instead we will be saying that here is a describable type of problem family of numerical significance and our traditional social work techniques are both inappropriate and ineffective in helping them toward improved social functioning.

The term "hopeless" family no doubt awakens a variety of

¹Sylvan S. Furman, ed., *Reaching the Unreached* (New York: New York City Youth Board, 1952).

images in your minds. Some of you, particularly those who work in correctional agencies, will perhaps think of a type of delinquent whose whole life seems so completely organized against society and its designated representatives that your best efforts serve only to mobilize him to build his fences higher. Others, particularly those employed in clinics and hospitals, may think of the type of client who has deeply entrenched himself in illness and organized his whole environment to protect himself from any idea that he could function differently. Still others probably associate to the picture of the multiproblem family described by Bradley Buell² in his well-known survey of the St. Paul, Minnesota, social services, or as highlighted in the studies and the work of the New York City Youth Board.³ Each of these types bears the common characteristic of being difficult to involve in a casework relationship that has substance and holds potential for movement. Each represents a general type of hard-to-reach client that is stimulating the social work profession to develop new techniques or revise traditional ones in order to make progress with these problem groups.

The image of the "hopeless" family we shall discuss has characteristics in common with each of the types suggested above but is different from any one of them. We must remind ourselves that this image is a hypothetical model described by certain general characteristics that taken together represent a type, but perhaps no single family could be found that perfectly fits this model in all respects.

The most descriptive characteristic is expressed by the words "events control them rather than they control events." Something is always happening to them that causes the family to be in such a box and nullifies their attempts to climb out of it. Typically, this kind of family is regularly or intermittently dependent financially, and the public welfare department is the agency which deals with the greater number of this type of family and in the "purest" form. Typically, if there is a father in the home he is

² Bradley Buell and Associates, *Community Planning for Human Services* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), pp. 412-13.

³ New York City Youth Board, Research Department, *A Study of Some of the Characteristics of 150 Multiproblem Families* (mimeographed, 1957).

unskilled occupationally, limited educationally, and has a history of various accidents or undefined physical problems that excuse but do not explain his poor employment record. The mother is likely to have a history of unwanted pregnancies, in or out of marriage, and is subject to various intermittent, undefined illnesses that strike at the most inconvenient times. The most pervasive characteristic is that of being a family which just seems to have an affinity for trouble, yet nothing very extreme or clear-cut.

In fact, it is a quality of nondescriptiveness rather than descriptiveness that most characterizes the diagnostic picture and the problem posed for treatment in the type of situation we are visualizing. It is not clearly a delinquency problem displayed by one or several of the family members, although antisocial behavior may be present; it is not a mental illness problem, although one or more members of the family might be described as disturbed; it is not a problem centering around physical illness of a key member of the family, although poor health is typically a feature of the family picture. It is rather a pervasive quality of social difficulties in many phases of family functioning, but there is no one major problem that offers a key point of attack in helping the family.

This type of situation is often neatly balanced between being too much a cause for community, and hence agency, concern to ignore or place on an inactive basis for casework services; and too little to mobilize the authority of the community operating through the court or the health department to make drastic intervention. Treatment efforts are likely to be desultory, the participation of the family members to which they are directed acquiescent but superficial, and the results or movement on the case infinitesimal. Such a family are the Z.'s:

The Z. family, consisting of Mr. and Mrs. Z., 41 and 40 years of age respectively, and their seven children ranging in age from one year to 15 years, were referred to the public welfare agency by the Attendance Bureau, as the school was concerned with the children's living conditions. The children were malnourished, ill clothed, and poorly groomed, and were absent frequently.

Mr. Z., a burly individual, appears to be of low intelligence and is somewhat domineering around the home. He works as a laborer and does junking on the side. When he is employed, he brings home about

\$90 a week, but he has frequent periods of unemployment. Mrs. Z. is a scrawny woman in poor health, not motivated for any type of change. Both Mr. and Mrs. Z. deny they are neglecting their children and state that they are giving them the best care they possibly can. They accept casework services which have to do with financial assistance or other material aid, but are unable to understand or utilize service of a less tangible form.

The inadequate use of financial resources seems to be a focal point in this family's disorganization. Other factors leading up to this point have also contributed to the disorganization: marginal intelligence of the parents, low cultural standards, and inadequate education which contribute to the family's pattern of living; constant moving about in the past several years; poor planning in budgetary matters; lack of insight into family relationships; Mrs. Z.'s inability to cope with the task of caring for and training so many children; and Mr. Z.'s apparent disinterest in the family.

The oldest boy, Sammy, has not had a medical check-up and is believed to be acutely anemic. The school reports that Sammy is a fairly bright boy and could do much better work than he is doing, but he just doesn't seem to have the energy to concentrate and do his work. He has been out of school almost constantly this year because of not feeling well, and because of Mrs. Z.'s dependence on him to take care of her when she is ill or needs to be away from the home. The two youngest children, twins, are chronically undernourished. During a period of hospitalization in their first year they gained in general health and weight, but lost that gain within a few weeks after returning home.

The worker has tried to deal with the tangible aspects first, providing supplementary financial assistance, help on budget planning, medical care for the children and for Mrs. Z., attention to housekeeping standards and to getting the children to school regularly and in reasonably presentable condition. After these items were taken care of, the record says, the worker planned to turn attention to the interpersonal relationships of the family and the children's emotional needs.

After three months of persistent effort the worker feels he has made little progress. Mr. Z. is still largely unemployed, and his earnings from junking have only been enough to make the task of determining eligibility for assistance a never-ending one. After numerous delays due to flu, inability to find a baby-sitter for the younger children, and other reasons too numerous to mention, Mrs. Z. finally got Sammy to the clinic. However, after she had waited her turn it was found that she had not brought the two-dollar registration fee. The house has been somewhat neater on occasion when the worker has called, but this seems much more a response to the worker's concern than to Mrs. Z.'s real wish to improve her housekeeping.

Reading this brief account, one might immediately say, "Aha, a hostile, dependent-type reaction." If this were the case the prescription could be easily stated: take off the pressure, identify the negative nature of the family's relationship to the worker, and put the responsibility for improving their situation squarely up to the members of the family. This is sound theory, but with the type of family described herein, a type particularly common in public welfare agencies, it will not work. It will not work because the hypothesis is incorrect. The family members are not reacting negatively and with all the strength of their ego resisting the social worker's invitation or pressure to change. Rather, they are not reacting at all because the values which the worker represents and which underlie the goals to which his casework efforts are directed are not shared by the client. Therefore, real communication is limited, in accordance with the general rule that the amount of communication between persons varies directly with the degree to which they share the same basic values.

Behind the worker's efforts to improve the family's management of money, obtain medical care for the children, help Mrs. Z. improve housekeeping standards, and attain various other goals is, of course, the worker's recognition of the relevance of these items to reasonable conformity to the standards of the community in which the family resides.

Thinking of the Z. family as an example, this chronically dependent, socially inadequate, mildly antisocial family represents the most common type of problem family in the caseloads of public welfare departments across the nation. Conceptualizing family behavior is much more difficult than describing individual behavior, but if we use this description of the Z. family as an image and, although recognizing all the possible individual shadings, multiply it by many thousands and project it against the experience of hundreds of local public welfare departments, we will have a composite picture of the problem upon which this paper is focused.

It is inevitable in the nature and purpose of public welfare departments as they exist in this country that a disproportionate number of these social problem families would gravitate into their

caseloads. In addition to the obvious reason that the public agency is the source of financial assistance—chronic or intermittent financial dependency is one of the characteristics delineated—there is the more subtle pull of other facets of the public welfare department's function and the manner in which these functions are perceived by recipients of aid and service.

Increasingly, public welfare departments are developing services in addition to financial assistance. These may be departmentalized as child welfare services or family services or may be a more generalized response to the Federal and state leadership to develop services to all recipients of public assistance. As public welfare departments become more concerned with implementing a real concept of social work service to public assistance recipients, they become more acutely aware of the number of families of this type and the impotence of the agency's efforts to effect improvement. And out of the effort to individualize the social problem of each family they serve they also become more aware of the fact that the very existence of the public welfare agency and its "institutional" behavior draws this type of case into its work load and tends to keep it there. This last point needs additional elaboration.

Social workers have scotched to their own satisfaction the direct causal relationship assumed in the age-old shibboleth "relief makes people dependent." Our increasing understanding of human behavior has moved us beyond the old dependent-independent dichotomy toward increasing appreciation of the ways each individual at any stage in his life strives for a balance between his inner needs and the demands of his outer environment. The term "socially mature person" implies a person who is not only able to give and to receive affection in interpersonal relationships, but also is able to project himself aggressively and creatively in the manipulation of his environment toward culturally approved objectives that net satisfaction both to himself and to others.

The public welfare agency, with the provision of financial assistance its predominant function, enters into the lives of the individuals and families it serves at times of, and in relation to problems provocative of, the severest stress. Because the social

worker holds the power to give or to withhold the wherewithal of life itself he is the object of powerful and elemental feelings. The client's relationship to his own parents tends to be recreated with especial force since the client's basic needs for food, for shelter, for acceptance of his acute feelings of panic are being met—or denied—by the social worker.

Suggested in broad outline is the observation that a public welfare agency tends to be the recipient of a special degree and quality of attachment to it by its clients, and that the social worker inevitably tends to carry a parental role to a marked degree and in a rather special way.

The receipt of financial assistance does not "make" people dependent, in the sense that the experience itself creates a previously nonexistent regressive drive. Rather the regressive impulses, the ones we label "dependency feelings," tend to be aroused by the assistance experience and channeled upon the public assistance agency and the person of the social worker responsible for the giving or denying of relief. Speaking generally, therefore, of the type of family we are discussing, in which the parents themselves have a history of physical and emotional deprivation, the public welfare agency symbolizes to a marked degree both the longed-for, giving and the feared and hated, withholding parent. It is a major thesis of this paper that the social worker seeking to help this type of family must recognize this social-psychological setting of his relationship with the family, come to terms with it fully, and accept the parental responsibility consciously, unembarrassedly, and with a minimum of ambivalence.

The phrase "parenting responsibility" is used deliberately to convey the meaning intended. It is intended to suggest the basic stance of the agency and hence of the social worker in his relationship to the type of client family previously described. Encompassed in this concept of the social worker's responsibility to the client family are functions normally attributed to the role of a parent in relation to his child, with certain definite similarities and certain obvious differences. These functions may be listed as follows:

1. To give consistent warmth of feeling and concern for each person, in other words, to love
2. To offer oneself as an ego ideal
3. To teach by precept and example
4. To supervise and set limits
5. To join actively with the family in seeking opportunities for improvement of the family's welfare, its social status, and opportunities for its members to exploit their talents toward the same end

Each of these points requires elaboration.

Social workers have made much of the principles of acceptance and nonjudgmentalism as necessary guides to our behavior when we seek to establish that special kind of relationship with our clients that makes true communication possible. We know that relationship is the bridge across which any real change in the client's social attitudes and improved conception of himself must flow, yet the essence of relationship defies description. From theology comes the phrase "love for the soul" of the other person which perhaps best suggests the kind of active and unquenchable feeling the social worker must have for the essential human being with all his frailties if he is to reach the type of persons under discussion. We are thinking of people who typically have experienced a lifetime of personal deprivation and isolation from the main stream of the culture. Hence, the bridge must be strong if it is to support the weight put upon it.

The social worker can offer himself freely and without ambivalence as an ego ideal, a personification of the value base of the core culture. In the "hopeless" family the parents themselves are lacking in real ego identity and therefore cannot provide a model for their children. Here the term "ego identity" is used in the sense developed by Erik Erikson. He states that "the term identity expresses . . . a mutual relation in that it connotes both a persistent sameness within oneself (self-sameness) and a persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with others."⁴ Now

⁴ Erik Homburger Erikson, "The Problem of Ego Identity," *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association*, IV (1956), 57.

we understand the dynamics of an individual's identification with an ego ideal better than we do the processes by which ego identity is established. We all know that one of the results of a successful therapeutic relationship is that the client or patient tends to take on attitudes characteristic of the caseworker or therapist. With the type of family upon which this paper is based, both the members and the family as a whole tend to lack identity as individuals and as a family group.

As individuals they suggest a picture of "identity diffusion" as contrasted with "integrity" or inner wholeness, as Erikson⁵ describes it, a condition particularly characteristic of the adolescent years. As we struggle to help this type of family we find ourselves using phrases in our case recording such as "lack of inner strength," "weak ego," "directionless," "putty-like," to describe the parents and perhaps the older children. The concept of identity adds a new dimension to our understanding of ego formation in that it helps us to understand each person's striving toward becoming a "somebody"—rich man, poor man, beggarman, or thief—but an identity as an individual and as a member of a family or a group. By offering himself with the values he represents as an ego ideal to the members of these families, just as a parent does to his child, the social worker helps them toward a greater sense of identity. They can use him both to grow toward and to grow against, but in either instance, toward more firm identity.

Teaching is an active process of imparting information and when well done is neatly gauged to the recipient's motivation and ability to utilize a specific piece of information at a particular time. Teaching-learning is an ego-building operation directed toward the broad goal of ego identity as described above. The teaching aspect of the social work method "lost face" in the profession because of its association with a didactic method operating without reference to the person's need for the information in order to equip his ego to solve a specific problem. This is unfortunate. The problem-solving emphasis in current social work literature has brought us back to new recognition of the fact that prob-

⁵ See chart, *ibid.*, p. 75.

lem-solving is an ego activity and in order to solve problems the ego must have the perceptual tools to accomplish its task. In helping the "hopeless" family, teaching in the sense used here is an essential treatment activity.

The social authority inherent in the worker's role as a representative of a specific agency comes into play in what we may term "supervision" and the setting of limits. Elliot Studt, drawing upon sociological theory, has defined social authority as "power assigned to a position, and exercised by an individual in that position as he participates in the making of decisions by others."⁶ Mrs. Studt makes a clear and helpful distinction between social authority and psychological authority and concludes that,

In the casework relationship, whenever the psychological aspects of the authority relation develop strongly, the formal, social authority aspects, although still present and effective, become secondary; and the casework process emerges as a particular, highly skilled form of the exercise of influence.⁷

Against the thesis of the social worker's parenting responsibility with the type of family often labeled "hopeless," the function of supervision and limit setting is intended to describe a process of developing with the family a structure of community expectations of it and realistic expectations of itself which both free the family for change and support it in change in the direction of conformity with community norms. In this connection the concept of casework as a partnership used to describe the relationship between the family and the social worker is a very useful one. Developed by Alice Overton⁸ and her associates in the family-centered project in St. Paul, in working with 140 of the city's most disorganized families, "partnership" best describes the reciprocity the social worker attempts to set up with each family. As an approach, partnership implies that the social worker does not mince words in spelling out with the family why they were selected for special attention; in other words, what the worker saw as needing change in order that the family may meet the expectations of the

⁶ Elliot Studt, "An Outline for Study of Social Authority Factors in Casework," *Social Casework*, XXXV (1954), 233.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

⁸ Alice Overton, "Casework as a Partnership," *Children*, III (1956), 181-86.

community. The full force of the social authority inherent in the worker's role is neither muted nor denied. But undergirding this approach is the implicit assumption that every individual has some wish to be in a measure of harmony with his culture, made explicit by the worker's direct questions asking the family what they want for themselves and holding them to thinking of concrete steps the family can take to pull themselves together—create an identity for themselves. As Mrs. Overton says, "such directness is not directiveness or manipulation. It is treating the client as a full associate and letting him know our views on the necessity of and possibilities for change."⁹ Within the context of the concept of parenting as developed here, do not these phrases express the way the function of supervision and setting of limits is expressed in an actual structure of relationship between agency and client that frees him for maximum self-direction?

The term "partnership" in the context in which it is used by Mrs. Overton carries the additional implication of a contract—a contract between the community and the family for both to work toward their mutual benefit. This brings us to the fifth and last function subsumed under the concept of parenting, namely, the worker's responsibility to join actively with the family in seeking resources for improvement of the family's welfare, of its social status, and of opportunities for its members to exploit their talents toward these ends. The explicit demand to the family that its members can and must put their minds and hearts to improving the family's life situation must be correlated with clear indication of what the community can and will do. This means such specific things as:

1. Supplying every bit of material assistance to which the family is legally eligible, with the worker actively determining the family's need for the discretionary items (refrigeration, furniture, etc.) rather than passively waiting for the family to ask for them
2. Actively pressing for rehabilitative services where indicated, such as retraining, prosthetic appliances, etc., rather than expecting the individual family members to fight the battle of red tape unaided

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

3. Actively mobilizing medical resources in a new way, for it is inevitable that in most communities the public medical care clinics (not to mention the private ones) are likely to be operating in a way that tends to perpetuate the individual recipient in the social role of a sick person

This list is intended to be illustrative, not exhaustive. The real point is the importance of an attitude on the part of the worker that is more than being active and imaginative in mobilizing community resources, although this much is an essential base. The necessity is to establish and maintain an understanding or contract between the family and the community in which each is a working partner contributing toward the same end, the family's total welfare. Certainly achieving reciprocity is easier said than done. It begins with the social worker explicating, even listing with the family, what the community can and will do, what is expected of the family and of individual members. Then there follows a continuing process of evaluating and ticking off the achievements and contributions, no matter how small, as each party to the contract works toward immediate and long-term goals.

The phrase "parenting responsibility" may suggest to some a kind of paternalism under which the government through the public welfare worker takes a dangerous degree of responsibility for shepherding the destinies of social problem families. To others it may suggest a harking back to the early days of social work when the friendly visitor held himself up as an example for the dissolute and poverty-stricken to emulate.

Both these notions are partly true but with an important difference. The profession of social work and social workers as individuals are and always have been instruments of social control as well as of social change. These are two faces of the same coin. Returning to our image of the "hopeless" family, the social worker must unequivocally represent the demands of the core culture and strive to help the family live up to them. If this family, and many more like it in the community, is able to live a more socially participating, really more free life, one kind of important social change has occurred. The difference is in the fact that the social worker sees himself and behaves as the instrument

of social control and social change, not the personal embodiment of the "right" attitudes and values. This difference may seem a specious one until we reflect upon the fact that the professional self-awareness of which we talk so much is, in the last analysis, an ability to distinguish the "I" from the "not I" and to operate accordingly. The professionally self-aware person is able to represent the broad value demands of the culture which he shares, but also to recognize and accept the range of different ways of living them out and not confuse the selections he has made for himself with the total range.

Public welfare agencies—specifically the local multiple-function assistance and general welfare agency—are routinely suspected, by a certain proportion of the community, of coddling clients. This can mean various things, but with respect to the type of family we have been studying we can make a virtue of what is a suspected vice. There is no disagreement between the social worker and the community on the objectives, i.e., to help the socially inadequate family to be reasonably adequate to the demands of the culture in terms of self-dependence, care of children, home management, and minimum conformity with moral standards. The disagreement is around means to these ends. What many would no doubt term "coddling" has been unequivocally recommended herein. But it is coddling done with the clear-eyed awareness that only by reaching out with unquenchable feeling and concern can we hope to build a bridge of relationship across which the family can move toward acceptable functioning. It is coddling when, grounded squarely in the limits of eligibility on the one hand and minimum community standards on the other, we provide every bit of material resource and emotional support to the family as our contribution to the partnership agreement formed to improve the family's total situation and maximize the contribution of individual members. It is coddling when we start where the family is rather than where the community might wish it to be, and build brick by brick at a pace cognizant of the level of beginning and the life experience of the builders, focusing on essentials of family operation rather than on the niceties that some members of the community might wish to demand.

An abbreviated case history will help to illuminate these concepts:

Mrs. G., a 31-year-old mother of six out-of-wedlock children by at least three different men, would certainly seem to be the kind of person to whom things happened rather than her being able to control herself and her environment to a degree that met either her own or the community's standards. Mrs. G. was born in a large and poverty-stricken family. Her childhood was one of stark material and emotional deprivation, leaving her able only to seize upon any man who gave her attention, unable to demand or hold to much for either herself or her children.

The effect upon the older children of the parade of transitory fathers in the home was apparent. The G. family was spoken of in the agency as one of "that kind" of ANC family, which meant a perpetual problem of determining eligibility, little hope of improvement in the family's moral and living standards, a "money-down-the-rat-hole" type of case.

A shift in case assignment brought a worker who recognized Mrs. G.'s need for acceptance and emotional support, disguised by her surface apathy, and he was able to give it without stint. At the same time, realistic problems, such as temporary need for housekeeping assistance, dental care for the children, and a contribution from the baby's father, could be dealt with, always in the context of their meaning to this deprived and inadequate mother's capacity to carry her responsibilities to her children.

Progress was truly remarkable, not toward independence of agency help, but toward knitting together a family that had substance and identity, with Mrs. G. both giving to, and receiving from, her children the satisfaction life had heretofore denied her. The family's conception of itself and, of course, the agency's and community's conception of the family changed markedly in the course of months.

Within the context of parenting responsibility as developed above, the agency will no doubt continue to provide material and emotional props to the G. family for many years. But it can now be done consciously and without ambivalence because there is the glow of achievement in the agency worker's participation with the family toward common goals, the best possible kind of life for the family within its many limitations.

Much is being said and written about family diagnosis and family-focused treatment. Yet we are no doubt only on the threshold of exploiting the possibilities of family-focused social work. As better observational tools are gained from a growing body of

interpersonal relationship theory tested in the crucible of the daily experience of social workers, counselors, psychiatrists, and psychologists in helping individuals, families, and groups we are acquiring the necessary base that will make family-focused treatment a substantive reality in all social agencies. It is largely a fantasy that family-focused treatment is now occurring in most social agencies. To the important concept "family of orientation," as developed by Otto Pollak¹⁰ in his studies directed to integrating sociological and psychoanalytic concepts, may we suggest a somewhat related concept, "family identity"? As a concept corollary to "ego identity," "family identity" expresses, to paraphrase Erikson's¹¹ definition, a mutual relation in that it connotes both a persistent sameness with a family (family character) and a persistent sharing of some kind of essential family character with other families like it. Just as a feeling of ego identity is illustrated by an individual's inner sense of "I am a mechanic" or "I am a mother," a family identity is illustrated by family members sharing an inner sense that "we are Schneiders and we are like the Smiths but different from the Johnsons." By actively promoting family identity the social worker can exploit its force to give greater cohesiveness and direction to a family's development, and therefore the power of the family as the basic socializing agent in the life of its individual members is enhanced. Although the description of the G. family no more than suggests this point, the sense of family identity became more apparent as the case progressed and was an observable force in adding substance and cohesiveness to the family's internal life.

The discussion of family identity suggests that the mechanism of family interviews is strongly indicated with the type of case we have been discussing. A "family interview" is simply an interview with the family as a group; it is used selectively as a corollary to individual interviews, not as a substitute for them. It would scarcely seem necessary to belabor this point except that we are harassed by the knowledge that despite much discussion of family

¹⁰ Otto Pollak, *Integrating Sociological and Psychoanalytic Concepts: an Exploration in Child Psychotherapy* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1956), p. 31.

¹¹ *Op. cit.*

group interviewing, very few social workers are using this technique. The justification for family group interviewing has dimensions additional to that of promoting family identity, but on this one alone it would seem a necessary procedure chosen with a calculated purpose.

Still more speculative than family group interviewing is the notion that social workers should experiment with group approaches to the goal of developing family cohesiveness, substance, and direction in the disorganized and socially inadequate family. This discussion becomes quite academic since, to the writer's knowledge, there is no experimenting anywhere in the use of formed discussion groups, composed of the key members of this type of family, as a mechanism for helping the individual family units toward improved functioning. At least nothing has reached the literature of the profession. A group approach suggests itself because it seems logical to believe that as the group is led in thinking through and discussing their shared problems, solutions will be reached and group support mobilized to undergird individual effort. Equally important, however, and within the context of our discussion of family identity, group participation would logically give each individual, as part of a family unit, an opportunity to experience himself in the "I, not I," "like, not like" dichotomy. Then, through the well-known psychological process of positive and negative identification, each one would achieve both greater individuality and relatedness—in a word, identity. The mechanical problems of organizing such groups in the typical public welfare agency would be surmountable if staff could be found with sufficient imagination to develop hypotheses and the courage and resourcefulness to create experimental groups to test them. Until this happens discussion will remain largely academic.

We have painted with bold strokes a picture of a type of family situation, particularly common to public welfare departments, which frustrates social workers to the point of a feeling of hopelessness. In detailing what we believe to be the appropriate stance of the social worker and the components of an effective approach to this type of family, one additional point needs to be made: the social worker must come to terms with the true nature

of social work in the modern world and the nature of the profession of which he is a part.

The folklore of the profession still contains the idealized image of a social worker conducting weekly scheduled interviews, in the sanctity of the social worker's office, focused upon the conflicted feelings of individual clients who have come voluntarily to seek this kind of help. An examination of the literature and of teaching records used in schools of social work will inevitably give this impression of the predominant nature of social work. Even such a fine book as Helen Perlman's *Social Casework*¹² tends to convey the impression of social work as aiding the anxious person who voluntarily seeks help with his problems in social living.

It is, first of all, a fantasy that the largest proportion of social work in this country is represented by this image. In fact, the opposite is true. The largest proportion of social work is carried on with more or less involuntary clients and occurs in other places than the worker's office—in homes, in hallways, in automobiles, to mention a few locations. Secondly, clarification and insight development have grafted themselves into the folklore of the profession as the primary objectives of social work help, or at least as having the highest status in terms of making us feel like social workers when we are engaged in these treatment activities. This too is a fantasy; a fantasy that the largest proportion of social work results in either clarification or insight, and a fallacy if these are conceived as the final objectives of most social work.

Social work is best described as helping people to perform appropriate social roles and to find satisfaction and give satisfaction to others in the privileges and responsibilities of those roles. This focus on role performance places in proper perspective the ego-supportive and ego-building work we must do with the "hopeless" family. The greatest contribution social work and social workers are making to man's understanding of himself is an appreciation of how the ego is built through the individual's active grappling with the reality problems of everyday living and the techniques of ego support we have developed to help him in problem-solving.

¹² Helen Harris Perlman, *Social Casework: a Problem-solving Process* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957).

We have used the image of the socially inadequate family to explicate ego-supportive techniques which go beyond the development of a warm and an accepting relationship. The capacity to develop a warm and accepting relationship is assumed to be a part of the regular stock in trade of every social worker—an assumption that is not, however, borne out by reality. But to paraphrase Bettelheim,¹³ love, though the *sine qua non* of a base for effective social work help, is not enough. We must learn to give the strength of our own egos and the force of both the demands and the resources of the community in a particularly creative way if we will truly help the "hopeless" family.

¹³ Bruno Bettelheim, *Love Is Not Enough* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950).

Family-centered Services through Aid to Dependent Children

by HELEN B. FOSTER

MORE CLEARLY THAN ANY OTHER GROUP in the country, I think, public welfare caseworkers have understood the real needs of Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) families and have proceeded to meet them as best they could, often learning through trial-and-error method what worked and what did not. Interest in services to public assistance recipients did not begin with the 1956 amendments to the Social Security Act. Rather, the amendments evolved in large part out of the concern of public welfare staff all over the United States about the need of public assistance recipients for more constructive help.

As of December, 1957, more than a half million families, including nearly two million children, were receiving ADC help. Because of the legal requirements of the ADC program we know that not only were all these families financially needy but also that something additional had happened to each of these families which made it hard for a parent to carry the responsibilities normally expected of parents. More specifically, we know that in 53 percent of these families—more than a quarter of a million—either the parents were not married or the family had been broken by divorce, separation, or desertion. So it may be seen that the potential need for help with family problems in the ADC program is substantial.

It is my belief that many public welfare workers are doing quite a remarkable job in providing services to parents and children which strengthen family life. In a sense, however, it appears that

workers and supervisors often really do not know their own strength and tend to depreciate helping activity which seems to them commonplace, everyday, and trivial in the face of the involved problems presented by many of the families in their caseload.

Let us, therefore, look with new awareness at what we already know about family life, what we already know about how the individuals who make up families feel and behave, and what we already know about the effective use of casework relationship. Just as a fleeting glance at a familiar face sometimes brings to us a sudden, new awareness of its meaning and value to us, so perhaps a brief view of what we have already learned about helping ADC families will bring a sharper and more meaningful focus to our job.

In the history of public assistance practice we have sometimes had difficulty seeing the applicability and usefulness of basic casework concepts because we have been preoccupied with legal requirements surrounding determination of eligibility and granting assistance. We have been handicapped by large caseloads and red tape and we have sometimes been intimidated by the complexities of the problems presented by our clients.

Out of our experience we have learned, however. We have learned that the essential value of money to all people is to buy life and that when we talk to people about how much money they have and how much they are eligible to receive we are touching their lives profoundly. We have learned that in our preoccupation with measuring the person against legal requirements he remains neither unmoved nor unmoving. We have learned that what we do and say in all our contacts with the person, especially the initial ones, can either contribute to his increased capacity for independent functioning or detract from it. The old stereotype that the discussion of eligibility factors is a sort of self-contained process with a routinized identity of its own has given way to the understanding that the agency's relationship with the client is a continuum and that the helping role begins at the point of initial contact. Of considerable value in the public assistance setting is what we have learned about how much help we

can give a client in only a few timely contacts in connection with very simple matters.

Against this backdrop, then, I shall discuss what workers have learned to do which helps people be better parents and which contributes to family solidarity. It seems to me, as we read in public assistance case records how families have shown improved functioning or have maintained their strengths under considerable stress, we can identify certain activities and understandings of the worker which contributed to this success. You may say as I mention these activities that they are just inherent aspects of casework method. This is true, but perhaps they have particular significance to public assistance workers because of the pressures with which the public assistance caseworkers must cope.

First, it seems important that the workers always keep clearly in mind what constitute the essential components of normal family life since it is within this cultural context that the common objectives of worker and client activity are formed. As social workers, we have little contact professionally with "normal" family life, and sometimes it is easy to become almost too preoccupied with problems. Our concern with the immature mother, for example, is not primarily because of the overt difficulties she gets into because of her immaturity. It is because her immaturity interferes with her performance of those daily activities of a mother which children need if they are going to develop into healthy and responsible adults. The important thing is not just to get the classic mother out of the classic beer tavern but rather to engage her energies positively in those activities which will contribute to her family's well-being.

Let me illustrate further. On occasion I read records which seem to be chiefly a chronology of all the trouble which a mother has gotten herself into both before and after she became known to the agency—often very colorful trouble. In these records I have difficulty finding out such things as whether the worker and mother ever talked about how the children are getting along in school, how their health is, how the mother's health is, how the mother manages her household, where the father is, what his plans

are—all those ordinary things which constitute family life and which provide its strength.

I do not wish to minimize the fact that a number of the families in our ADC program are very troubled people who are not easy to reach. However, the most successful worker seems to be the one who does not let himself be overwhelmed by the involved acting-out problems his client may present, who realizes that these problems are symptoms, and who takes the initiative in the relationship by turning the mother's attention to using her sometimes limited capacities in working on the practical aspects of daily living which concern all mothers in our community. While it may not be possible (or even feasible) to help the mother reach any basic resolution of major personality defects, much can often be done in helping her handle these defects more constructively in relation to the concrete and practical responsibilities she faces every day. After all, it is not the resolution of personality defects per se which we are seeking. What is more important is the degree of freedom and competence which the person can be helped to achieve to carry on each day's activities somewhat more productively and responsibly.

A second type of worker activity which seems profitable is closely related to the first (in fact, all the points I am raising are really different facets of a "whole"). This activity might be called breaking big problems down into little ones. In any sort of effective effort one does not attempt to approach on all fronts at once, and this is particularly true of the helping relationship. When faced by a mother who presents such a range of irresponsible mismanagement that it seems almost consciously premeditated there is probably no worker who has not yearned for magic powers to take definitive action which would "strengthen family life" right here and now.

However, the wider the range of problems which the mother presents the greater the likelihood that, for whatever reason, she has little current capacity or incentive for dealing with more than the simplest situation. The worker's problem is to find a point of contact where the mother's interests may be engaged and where

there seems some possibility of her successful accomplishment. The worker's diagnostic imagination searches for some faint spark of interest. Is there any sign the mother is interested in improving the appearance of the house, in improving her own appearance? Could she be interested in cooking? Does she say she is concerned because she never has enough money for the children's clothing? Is she worried because the baby has constant colds? However slight the interest may be, that is where we start.

Some of you may be saying, "But this kind of activity is so trivial in its impact on the kinds of problems our ADC families have." Perhaps this is where magic does come into the picture, the magic of what people can do for themselves with a little directed help and encouragement. The mother who learns how to *keep* her house clean has learned much more than this. She has also learned how to go about something in a planned and orderly fashion. Even more important, she has learned how it feels to be successful. One small success can often provide sufficient incentive and energy for her to go ahead with the help of the workers, or independently, to handle more complicated aspects of her situation constructively. Big problems may not entirely disappear, and probably will not, but the mother's successful management of several small problems, of which all big problems are composed, will contribute materially to a better way of life for her family.

A third major aspect which contributes substantially to worker success is the understanding that in the casework relationship it is possible to do two things at once. By this I mean that all situations in which worker and client meet in joint activity provide an opportunity to help people function more effectively no matter what may be the overt activity in which the worker and client are engaged.

This principle is best illustrated by, and is particularly applicable to, what it is possible to do in the eligibility process. We used to think that first we had to determine eligibility and then, if we had time, we "provided services" to help people with their problems. Increasingly, however, workers are recognizing that the initial determination of eligibility is the beginning of the helping role, and they are learning how to work with people in this process

in a way which not only serves the agency's legal requirements but which simultaneously supports and strengthens the client's capacities for effective and independent action. This use of the case-work relationship has major significance in helping people be better parents and in contributing to family solidarity because it helps families develop both the personal and the financial resources needed for immediate use and for future family well-being.

In this sort of approach certain factors can be identified which make the eligibility process a dynamic one for both client and agency. I shall discuss a few of these factors in some detail since in many public welfare agencies, because of caseload size and other administrative considerations, worker-client contact is largely limited to what occurs in the process of determining eligibility. It is not only the beginning of the helping role, it is often the only chance the worker has to be helpful.

One constructive measure which can be taken in the discussion of eligibility factors is the widening of the horizon of the client so that he can see that even though he may be in serious trouble there are some choices still left open to him, he can still move independently, he still has personal resources which he can use.

Because of the importance of financial independence in our culture and all the status significance attached to it, the need to apply for public assistance is often unconsciously regarded by both staff and client as indeed a last resort. When financial need is accompanied by the personally devastating problems involved in family breakdown the individual applicant often becomes immobilized, going around and around in the same pressing pattern of trouble from which there seems no escape.

Under some circumstances the application for assistance can represent the individual's desire to relinquish to the welfare department any further responsibility in a personally impossible situation. It is important, therefore, that the discussion of the eligibility factors be in terms of their meaning to this particular applicant and not solely in terms of agency requirements. Particularly in the ADC program the areas in which information is needed to establish eligibility are those in which any mother with-

out a husband needs to organize her thinking and come to conclusions if she is to move ahead responsibly. For example, the worker is concerned with the review of financial resources, not just as an agency measuring device, but so that the mother can start thinking about such things as what immediate steps she needs to take to convert or conserve life insurance, to consolidate debts, or to secure legal entitlements.

Probably there is no mother who, when asked to recall the birth dates of her children, does not also think of them, at least fleetingly: Are they well? Are they happy? Are they getting along well in school? What help do they need from me? Similarly, if the discussion concerns the eligibility factor of absence, the deserted mother must also be thinking about her husband: Why did this happen? Will he return? Do I want him to return? Do the children miss him? How could I locate him? What responsibility does he have for me and the children? The way in which the worker discusses these eligibility factors with the mother—in terms of their meaning to her and to the children—can provide the impetus for the mother to begin to turn at least some of her fleeting thoughts into organized action.

In many instances the choices open to the client, as revealed by the discussion of the eligibility factors, may seem very meager when measured against the magnitude of the family's problems. The psychological significance to the parent can be great, however, if out of the eligibility discussion she begins to see that there are choices open to her and possibilities for positive action.

It should be noted also that the range of choices open to a particular client is not necessarily limited to what the agency itself can provide. There may be other sources of help which can supplement what the welfare department has to offer if the mother becomes aware of them and is helped to use them. Sometimes a mother may come to the welfare department for a sort of undefined help because she knows that this is the place where other mothers have gone when their husbands left them. In such instances the exploration of choices open to the mother may reveal that application for ADC at that point is not the most prac-

tical action for her to take or the one best suited to her particular needs.

Closely related to this concept of choices is the opportunity the eligibility process can provide the client for actual experience in accomplishment, through participation with the worker in establishing the facts about his situation. Often parents applying for ADC are people who, for a variety of reasons, have had little experience in successful achievement or who have lost confidence in their ability to act in their own behalf.

The mother who, with the supporting help of the worker, is encouraged to collect the data necessary to establish her eligibility and to decide what she is going to do about the practical aspects of living facing her today, tomorrow, and next week is having a beginning experience in how to go about something in an orderly way. And, as we said earlier, successful accomplishment in even small but tangible activities is self-generating and can provide the impetus for the mother to move ahead in relation to other problems needing solution.

We see another illustration of the concept of doing two things at once when workers use the activity and relationship of the eligibility process to strengthen the parental role and to increase the mother's self-confidence through reinforcing cultural values often overlooked in a troubled life.

Even the best parents in a period of crisis must devote the major part of their energies to the immediate demands and have less to give their children until the emergency has passed. It is not too important to responsible parents if the children eat makeshift meals and do not go to school for a day or two. These parents will pick up their parental role again when the crisis has eased. If, however, as is the case in many ADC families, one's entire life is made up of crises—of fending off irate creditors, of having no regular amount of income, of frequent moves, of trouble with the law, of uncertainty about what the members of one's family are going to do next—the normal requirements of the parental role become obscured in the pressing, private world of expediency required to live from day to day. Under these circumstances one's

social expectations become very meager and the need for personal gratification very immediate. It comes to be an expected part of life that one's children have trouble in school and are otherwise unsuccessful, that they will have untreated illnesses, and that the exercise of parental discipline is often at the risk of further loss of love which already seems in short supply.

The welfare department represents the community to the client, sometimes, unfortunately, in a threatening, authoritative sense. In the casework relationship, however, beginning around the discussion of eligibility factors, it is possible for the worker to help the mother regain some perspective on the cultural values making up the parental role merely through the matters to which she draws the mother's attention in discussion, such as the health of the children, how they get along in school, what responsibilities the older children are assuming, etc. The social expectations of the mother may be enlarged somewhat also since the worker, a responsible member of the community, is saying in effect by her concern with various aspects of family functioning, "Your particular situation is not inevitable—you are a part of the community too." As the relationship progresses, the worker can give supportive help to the mother in appreciating her own needs—that the health of parents is important, for example—and that it is all right for mothers to have reasonable expectations for their children.

There are other uses that workers are making of the casework relationship in the eligibility process which contribute to strengthening family life. Perhaps the few we have mentioned, however, are sufficient to illustrate the potential opportunities in the eligibility process to be helpful to people as well as to discharge the agency's legal responsibilities.

So far, I have been discussing primarily the activities of workers which have helped people find resources within themselves to handle the stresses which are a part of their daily lives. Of equal importance is what workers are doing to help relieve these stresses, which often seem to lay the heaviest hand on those least capable of bearing them.

One of the most important measures in this respect is helping

the individual regain or maintain maximum physical energy. It was particularly noticeable in the Marin County study that the workers were dealing with tired people whose limited energy derived in part from diagnosed medical conditions and in part from the emotional drain of the precarious conditions under which they lived. I do not think these people were atypical from many of the families receiving ADC in other parts of the country. Therefore it is significant to note that in many situations where the family showed improvement during their experience with the Marin agency one of the first concerns of the worker had been to help the parents and children get needed rest and medical care.

We do not need to go outside our own personal experience to understand how dim the world can look when we are tired and under par physically or how difficult it is on those days to accomplish much. When this condition persists over a prolonged period of time, as is the case with many ADC families, it can be readily seen why measures to restore physical vigor are an essential aspect of helping the individual use his capacities to better advantage.

One of the most devastating stresses on family life is lack of money to buy minimum essentials for daily living—food, clothing, adequate housing, household furnishings, personal items. Assistance payments vary widely, state by state, throughout the country. In February, 1958, the national average monthly ADC grant per person was \$27.05. The payments ranged in continental United States from a monthly average of \$8.37 per person in the lowest state to \$45.08 in the highest. There are fourteen states where, because of grant maximums, the public assistance payment to the family will not cover even the state's own standard for food.

I present these figures so that we can think a little of the implications for the caseworker in working constructively with a broken family which seldom, if ever, has enough money in the family purse to buy even the bare essentials of life. I do not think that casework services can ever take the place of food. Nor do I think that an individual can ever have quite the same quality of self-respect unless he has the money to live at least at a modestly adequate if minimum level.

What does the worker do under these circumstances? I have

no ready solutions to offer. However, it seems to me that in working with families under the stress of extreme economic need the concepts I have previously discussed take on even greater significance: firmly grasping the essentials of normal family life; working on one small piece of the problem at a time; and, especially, using the eligibility process to strengthen the parent's feeling of self-respect and self-confidence.

Perhaps it would be helpful if I again refer to actual experiences in a county where public assistance grants were very low. These workers were modest about their efforts because they believed that it was not possible to do casework with people when grants were so inadequate. It seemed to me, however, that there were many positives in what these workers were doing. They understood the great amount of energy which parents were having to expend in just trying to make two ends meet and how this reduced the amount of energy they had to give to the affectional needs of their children. They understood why it was not easy to keep things clean when there was no money for cleaning supplies and why mothers bought food items primarily for their filling qualities rather than for their nutritional values.

These workers were great "scroungers." They helped their clients to use all available resources, whether they were entitlements from private or public sources or from community groups who could be persuaded to provide milk or household furnishings to individual families. They recognized that mothers who were really needed at home often had to go to work to live and they helped them make plans which provided as much protection as possible to family life. Of considerable significance was the fact that these workers were able to tell others in warm and graphic terms the effect that inadequate public assistance grants were having on mothers and fathers and children whom they knew personally.

I have tended to emphasize the families who present involved problems because their number in the ADC program is not insignificant and because they are the ones the workers find most baffling to help. We should not overlook, however, the substantial number of ADC parents who are doing a remarkable job in rear-

ing their children well in the face of many obstacles. And often it is the supportive help of the social worker which encourages these parents to maintain this level of effective functioning.

Workers are faced by many obstacles too, such as administrative limitations and need for greater skill. However, we should keep in mind that these obstacles never prevent a worker from being helpful to people; they only reduce the degree of helpfulness. Therefore I hope that these ideas I have presented will encourage workers to maintain their levels of effective functioning and to have new appreciation of the activities they are carrying on which are supportive to parents and therefore strengthening to family life.

The Psychodynamics of Administration

by ARTHUR H. KRUSE

THE BREADTH OF THE SUBJECT of administration requires the selection of a central theme which brings into view the behavior of people in the administrative process. The selection of the central theme and the manner of its development should call attention to some of the significant aspects of administration. Significant aspects of administration are those that have a substantial impact on the performance of an organization and the behavior of its staff members. The central theme of this paper will consist of an examination of the processes of decision-making. This examination, it is hoped, will contribute to a better understanding of how to mobilize the right knowledge and skills under conditions which encourage performance at the highest level of ability.

The choice of this theme is based upon some thoughts about the nature of decision-making which require immediate attention. The soundness of the processes used in decision-making affects not only the adequacy of the decisions but also the effectiveness with which they are executed. Likewise, the manner in which decisions are executed influences whether or not the right decisions are made, at the right time and by the right people. Let no one be deceived by the limitations of this theme; quite the contrary, it is so broad and pervasive as to require considerable management in its discussion. Decisions may involve simple interpretations of already established policy, but also decisions may establish broad policies which guide the qualifications of employees, their compensation, and the basis for the appraisal of their performance; to what extent and in what ways the discretion of an employee is impinged upon by the organization, the roles and relationships

of employees, and the ways in which the functioning of the organization is judged and accounted for.

Decisions impinge upon decisions *ad infinitum*. To not make a decision is in itself a decision. Decisions made on the level of basic policy lead to a host of decisions which move into the area of the resources and methods necessary for carrying out the original decision. A decision to charge fees for counseling versus not charging fees sets into motion many subdecisions having to do with the circumstances under which fees are charged and the manner in which the plan will be administered. The basic nature of this subject may be illustrated by an analogy with painting. The artist makes and executes thousands of decisions in painting a picture. In addition to such matters as selection of subject matter, brushes, canvas material, color emphasis, and concepts of expression, each of a thousand or more brush strokes involves a decision which includes many things: the direction of the stroke, the color used, the impression to be created, and more. When the picture is completed, one sees the total result and not the individual decisions; furthermore, most of the artist's efforts did not involve the problem of conscious decision.

There is much that is similar in administration. An experienced team of executive and staff, much of the time, move in relationship to administrative processes without a conscious awareness of the multiplicity of decisions that are being made. This can happen successfully only when a staff team have mastered the elements of effective participation in a particular setting and have acquired the professional skill essential to acting with both freedom and sureness, and with a minimum of conscious examination of each step taken. This analysis suggests the importance of careful attention to the complexity of administrative processes as one seeks to acquire administrative skill, as well as the need for all of us to reexamine periodically the rightness of our administrative behavior.

Obviously, many things influence both the structure of an organization and the processes of its administration: size of the organization, its legal auspices, the manner of financing, its purposes and activities, and many other characteristics. It is partly

for this reason that I have selected an approach to administration which is applicable to any setting but whose application will vary with the nature of the setting.

Our discussion is concerned now with setting up sound processes for decision-making and examining some of the factors which influence their selection in relation to a particular problem to be solved. Our first inquiry has to do with the extent to which staff members exercise discretion with respect to the tasks they perform or, conversely, the extent to which decisions are to be made by others than the person performing the tasks. A simple illustration of the issues involved in this inquiry has to do with reporting to work at a certain time. The task of getting to work on time is the staff members' responsibility, but usually the decision as to the expected time of arrival is made by the organization. This is an example of a situation in which most persons would agree on the rightness of the organization's invasion of the staff members' exercise of choice. Let us complicate the illustration somewhat. To the extent to which staff are permitted to come to work at times other than the policy states, the individual who has the task to perform is also deciding the manner of performing it. If a private practitioner wants to come to work every day at eleven in the morning the pain is his own if his income will not pay the rent; in other words, the struggle is with himself. As a staff member, the self is involved, but there is also much that can be invested in struggling with the organization.

Throughout all of administration this conflict exists between the manner in which persons need and want to perform and the extent to which this performance is impinged upon by the organizational setting of which they are a part. It is because of the fact that decision-making bears most directly on this core psychological problem that its processes should be as sound as possible. In any organizational setting, and particularly one whose functions are carried out by professional staff, management faces constantly the question of how much individuality, egocentricity, and expression of genius is to be encouraged within a framework of getting the best job done with the least amount of money.

Good psychodynamics in administration is encouraged when all persons in an organizational setting become more conscious of, and achieve some agreement with respect to, the issues we are discussing here. For example, the staff of a casework agency should accept the right of the organization to decide to charge fees. If a particular caseworker does not believe in charging fees, a healthy resolution of the problem is for him to change his mind or to work somewhere else. At this level of decision it is clear that a staff member's belief in charging fees becomes a condition of employment. Exploiting further this illustration, there is a second level of decision-making that moves closer to the practice of the worker, i.e., dealing with such matters as the amount of the fee, the basis for its determination, the firmness of its expectation, and the like. The decision to charge fees, on the first level, is subject to paramount influences in the area of top management; community sanctions and expectations; board of trustees' attitudes; and executive leadership. This second level requires a balanced mixture of staff influences with much of the soundness of the policies dependent upon the proper involvement of the practitioner who carries them out. On this second level, even as on the first, there should be clarity about the fact that once a definite program of implementation is adopted, it is not within the workers' discretion to change the expectations.

The most intricate level for all staff concerns the extent to which the achievement of the objectives of the fee policy involves matters which remain mostly within the area of the professional staff's knowledge and skill. Here the focus shifts to staff competency and to agency leadership in staff development and educational supervision. We see in this illustration an approach to some of the ingredients which need to be in balance in developing sound administration in a social agency setting. The more sound the process of evolving the fee policy from the point of view of all parties concerned, the more likelihood there is of achieving its objectives. On the other hand, no matter how sound the policy and how skillful its evolution, much that determines what it accomplishes is within the realm of the competence of

the staff members carrying it out, their ability to practice well and to manage the fee as a part of managing the total casework situation.

The following suggestions might stimulate your own further inquiry into this aspect of our subject:

1. Matters which have to do with the broad functions of an organization, legal and financial requirements, conditions of employment, job content and performance expectations, and the like, should be spelled out with particular care and the reciprocal rights and obligations of the organization and its staff members clearly established at the time of initial employment and continuously thereafter.

2. Particularly in administering a function which requires the employment of professional or semiprofessional staff, the burden of proof should be on the side of substituting the discretion of the organization for the exercise of discretion by the person performing the task. This does not mean in any sense an absence of accountability for results. It means that in the absence of evidence that the formulation of organizational decisions is going to produce better results, enhancement of professional self-responsibility and performance is encouraged by the maximum exercise of individual discretion.

3. To the degree to which the work to be done requires professional competence, emphasis should be placed upon the development of knowledge and skills versus the formulation of directives. Conversely, the more routine the work and the less skill involved, the greater the possibility of achieving efficiency via the use of rules and regulations.

Sound decision-making involves at least four stages or phases. Each of these phases presents different considerations with respect to who participates in the process and the manner of their participation. Before commenting on who participates and the manner of participation, we will identify the four stages as follows:

1. Agreement on the need for making a decision-identification of an area of exploration with the intent of arriving at decisions

2. Agreement on the processes to be used in arriving at decisions; including such matters as the number and kinds of per-

sons involved, the methods to be used in approaching the problem, and the time elements guiding the various phases and completion of the effort

3. Formulation of the conclusions reached, along with the facts and the assumptions on which they are based

4. Confirmation or finalization of the conclusions (decisions)

Variations in the participation of staff in the above processes are influenced by some specific thoughts on who should participate. There are at least three factors which bear on this: (1) job function; (2) competence; and (3) involvement in execution. Each of these elements usually should be present in the key aspects of decision-making. Frequently, all three ingredients are combined to a substantial degree in one person. The director of public relations by function is charged with the responsibility of giving leadership to shaping the total agency public relations program; presumably, his competence in this area exceeds or equals that possessed by any other staff member, and he would directly execute substantial portions of the public relations program. However, subject to problems and limitations which we will discuss shortly, there are important reasons why other persons in the organization should bring their areas of competence to bear in shaping a public relations program which depends in part for its effectiveness on a proper presentation of the professional content of the agency's work.

Great emphasis is being placed today on the "authority of ideas," which I have called the factor of competence, as contrasted with the "authority of position," which I have called the factor of job function. There should be little disagreement with bringing to bear on the solution of major administrative problems the best thinking that is available in an organization. Part of the problem is to decide whose thinking is best and to prevent a situation in which everybody does everything except what he was employed to do. One of the problems of expertness which is related to the specialization of our times is the tendency of experts to think that their level of competence in their area of specialization, by some process of osmosis, extends horizontally to all other areas of specialization. The complexity of decision-making has

forced both private industry and social service organizations into a team approach which is characterized by more and more decentralization and delegation of responsibility in larger organizations, and a general broadening of the base of participation of practitioner and operational employees. Nevertheless, care should be taken to see that the proper leadership roles in the decision-making process are assigned to those supervisory and management persons who have the responsibility for directing the execution of the decisions after their completion.

I would like to suggest a broad-based approach to stages one, two, and four of decision-making, i.e., the initiation of priorities for planning attention, establishing the methods of approaching the problems, and the final acceptance and adoption of the results. I would like to suggest a narrow-based approach to the third stage, i.e., the process of study and formulation of recommendations and decisions. Problems of efficiency, such as unit costs, volume of service, and effectiveness of product, are very much affected by choices to use time in reviewing and examining the work being done versus doing the work. This suggests great care in selecting the number and priority of matters for planning attention. The most important decisions to make may be the ones involved in selecting matters for possible revision of program and methods.

The experience of most organizations suggests that there are many more aspects of the agency's program that people would like to rework than can be tackled in any one year or even in three years. Several methods have been used to good advantage to assure the proper selection of matters for priority attention and to keep the staff in tune with changes in agency program and emphasis. A useful device is that of annually devoting a half-day or all-day general staff meeting to the fullest possible expression of opinion about the things that should be given additional or different attention in order to achieve more effective staff performance and better agency operation. The focus of the meeting is not on resolving some issue or problem but on standing off and looking at the work of the agency and identifying priorities for planning attention. In our agency such a meeting has been followed once a year by an all-day staff meeting of administrative and supervisory

personnel. In the light of the ideas expressed by the general staff and in view of the commitments and directions carried over from the past year, a course of action is established. The consensus of this meeting of some sixteen persons guides the organization in its activities of decision-making, policy reexamination, and program review for the coming year. It sets up priorities for emphasis and guide lines for the processes to be used in carrying out the program. Regardless of the size of the agency or the methods used, it is important for the executive and his management team to give periodic attention to reviewing and reexamining those aspects of the agency's work which they and the total staff have agreed together are most in need of attention.

A brief analysis of an example might convey more concretely what I mean by this approach to the four stages of decision-making. Let us say that the staff and executive of an agency have agreed that a major priority for the coming year is a complete overhaul of the entire form, record, and procedures system. This not only includes the records and procedures which concern the caseworkers, the registration system, and financial and service accounting requirements, but also raises questions which involve the operating practices of the agency. If it is a casework agency, it challenges the definitions of such things as: When is a case a case? What information do we need to record to practice casework successfully and to properly operate the agency? Do we continue to use the clearinghouse and, if so, at what point in the casework process? And so on.

Having used broad participation of staff in establishing the rightness of making this subject a major effort within the organization, I think this is where we frequently go astray. In order to carry out stage three, which has to do with the formulation of recommendations, the base of participation should be considerably narrowed. The program of arriving at the many decisions in completing this project should be placed under the direction of one person. Much of the fact-finding and preparation of recommendations should be done by this person. He may interview many staff members, and at the points at which casework practice is involved, caseworkers are consulted. Small task force committees of no more than three caseworkers may be set up with specific

qualitative tasks, such as agreeing on recommendations about the content of a revised face sheet and the kinds of records a caseworker needs in order to practice casework. The trustees and certain community persons would be consulted about the service accounting data required for program accountability. Most important of all, when clarity is established on what must be recorded, use will be made of the technical competence of systems experts to help design the necessary methods for accomplishing the recording objectives. When final recommendations are ready, everyone who is involved is given an opportunity to suggest how the plans might be improved, and with reasonable dispatch the plans are adopted and put into operation.

It is true that other examples, which might involve matters more central to professional practice, would be approached somewhat differently. In our agency, where we are currently engaged in a major study of the content of supervision, we have moved in the direction of using very small task force committees with a considerable centralization of responsibility on a very few people for the preparation of recommendations. The democracy in the process has to do with participation in the initial identification of the priority of the effort and the opportunity for all to examine the recommendations prior to final adoption. The major concern in actually carrying out the project has to do with economy of effort and the excellence of the results. In my opinion, it is at this stage that social agencies are particularly wasteful of time and not clear on sound process. This is where we committee things to death and everybody and his brother thinks he has to "get into the act." Part of the confusion exists in thinking that because the major work of an agency is casework and the forms and procedure system of the agency has an obvious connection with casework, therefore those who practice casework are most competent to revise the forms and procedures. Also, in tackling problems of practice where the caseworker is the expert, it is suggested that the approach be concerned primarily with economy of time and effectiveness of results rather than with representativeness and breadth of participation. We need more one-man committees.

This discussion has proceeded on the assumption that healthy

interpersonal relations among staff are influenced in a major fashion by clarity of thinking about staff roles and sound processes in decision-making. I shall summarize a few concluding thoughts about problems in the decision-making process:

1. *Alternatives in time use.*—For executives and management personnel, there is the special problem of identifying the relative value of different kinds of decision-making responsibilities. For example, the executive of a large child-placing agency who participates in every decision sending a child to an institution directly influences his ability to perform duties which cannot be delegated. If one does not delegate that which can and should be delegated, he will not have time to do those things which cannot be delegated. Likewise, the total staff of an organization should be conscious of the time spent on staff development and the refinement of agency operations. Too little time devoted to these purposes will affect adversely the efficiency of agency operations, and, conversely, too much time so spent will take away from the production of agency services. This discussion suggests that decision should be made as close as possible to the operating level commensurate with achieving the quality of decision required. It also suggests that every organization needs to have a strategy of time to be used for purposes of conscious planning and improvement of the work of the organization versus the production of the work.

2. *Knowledge and facts to support decisions.*—There is a tendency for social service agencies engaged in fairly technical work to depend too much upon the pooling of the existing level of expertness of its staff in the solution of operational problems. In approaching problems, it is important to know to what extent the reconciliation of different points of view and achievement of a consensus of judgment is adequate as contrasted with the finding of knowledge and facts which are presently not encompassed within the expertness of the staff. For example, an approach to a more precise appraisal of the effectiveness of casework leads not so much to a revision of the statistical card as it does to embarking on significant research. The failure of the larger social agencies, with few exceptions, to devote anything like 5 percent of their

budgets to research bearing on the efficiency and effectiveness of operations is resulting in decisions being made on an inferior level of knowledge and fact.

3. *Efficiency.*—The most significant single criterion guiding agency administration should be that of efficiency. A professional person, among other things, is one who considers being efficient an important part of his professionalism and who has definite standards on the basis of which to self-evaluate the qualitative and quantitative aspects of his own work. The problem of efficiency in social agency administration has been seriously neglected. This is not the time to pick up the discussion except to suggest that a healthy work situation is one in which the total organization has agreed upon criteria for judging efficiency, and these criteria should be such as to enable a sound process of identifying poor, average, good, and excellent staff performance, and also enable the community and board of trustees to know whether or not the results of the agency's work justify the money spent and accomplish the desired goals.

One final comment on the most significant problem facing social agency administration: good organization and administration are of little meaning if the quality of knowledge and skill possessed by the staff is not adequate to the job to be done. With all of our complaining about salaries in social work, we have, for the most part, been timid and inept in approaching job study and salary administration. The most important task facing social agency administration is to identify and describe the content of its work in terms which will enable the agency and community to translate these requirements into tangible personnel solutions. No administration is good if it fails to command the talents it requires effectively to perform its work and to organize and maintain staff development programs commensurate with the complexity and dynamic quality of the work content. By and large, social agency administration has been grossly deficient in these two regards. To the extent to which these two responsibilities of social agency administration are not dealt with adequately, everything else in administration is so much gilding of the lily.

Basic Components in Supervision

by CORINNE H. WOLFE

THE WAY IN WHICH social workers administer programs should be a demonstration of our basic professional belief in the creative capacity of men and women and in the use of human resources for the betterment of all society. Administration of social agencies can be a stimulating and creative process for the staff. When it is, the services provided become more productive for the people receiving them.

The nature of administration is twofold—the provision of services *to* people *by* people. The total process of formulating social policy, developing a program, and providing the services is bound up in a circular fashion in the administration of social programs. This circular concept is not clearly understood and accepted, however, by all social workers. There are some who separate administration from social work, since they consider social work to be primarily the provision of direct services. With this cleavage, the full circle of social planning and providing appropriate services is broken. Often, as a result, the experience gained in practice is not used to improve social planning.

Administrators, as supervisors, have the responsibility of ensuring the cooperative effort of all staff in achieving agency objectives and goals. Social work, by deciding on professional administrators, may avoid the kind of controversy now going on in some other professions on the relative merits of professional and lay administrators. When lay administrators are in control sound program development is lessened. Social workers need to apply professional knowledge and skills to administration. If social work is to do this, our social work concepts must be more than just client-oriented. Thus, one's concept of administration affects the

basis for supervision of staff in carrying out agency responsibility to the groups the agency serves.

My definition embodies the principles I have just mentioned. Social administration is the utilization of staff competency and the securing of cooperative behavior which enables the organization to develop social policy and provide the social services needed by the people and the community—a process that involves the integrated use of social work concepts and methods with appropriate methods drawn from public and business administration. This definition means that each staff member has a part in administration, through program development and planning, policy implementation, direction of operating units, or provision of direct services.

I am using the words “administrator” and “supervisor” to refer to any individual, whatever his title, who has responsibility for the administration of a unit of work and who has, as part of this responsibility, direction of staff. Supervision is the way in which he carries out his administrative functions.

A social administrator, to be most effective in directing staff, must draw on his professional education in social work for knowledge of human relationships. It is in this area of administration that he must be particularly skillful. He must be able to utilize the specialized competence of staff and further the creativity of staff to achieve agency goals. Professional competence is also necessary, of course, for sound program development. For some positions, the administrator must also have knowledge, either from professional education or related education, of other areas of administration, such as financing, budgeting, and personnel. He must be able to use appropriately the specialists in such areas.

This concept of administration, with the concept of supervision as the way individuals work with others in their areas of responsibility, has not yet been fully explored for all levels of operations and for all staff. I have selected some areas of administration to illustrate this concept of administration. These are patterns of supervision, agency organization and administrative responsibility, use of groups, understanding job responsibilities, climate of supervision, and individual supervision.

Patterns of supervision.—A review of social work literature on supervision indicates for the most part that professional writing has been related largely to the supervision of students or of casework staff, with considerable emphasis on the teaching role of the supervisor. Some definitions seem to imply that supervision is teaching and administration is management. It has been proposed that the same person cannot or should not be responsible for both teaching and administration. In public welfare, however, considerable emphasis has been placed on the interrelation of the two, since by the very nature of agency responsibility each affects the other.¹

The interrelationship of agency purpose and competency of staff is illustrated in a definition that I have found helpful for supervisors of caseworkers. Supervision is administrative leadership—a leadership that aims to develop the individual staff member's skills and knowledge and to direct the activities of the staff in such a way as to maintain and improve the services given to clients. How the program is administered and how the service is given determine the effectiveness of the agency's program.

This concept of supervision embraces the principle of staff development as an integral part of administration. The basic staff development function is carried by line staff in day-by-day work through individual conferences and group meetings. Supervisors supplement these activities by using the agency consultative services appropriate to individual, group, and agency-wide needs.

Lucille Austin proposes that the teaching aspects of supervision be carried by the supervisor (perhaps called a consultant or teacher), while the administrator carries out the management and administrative aspects, including management of the casework program and evaluation of the caseworker.² This proposal is based on the assumption that the responsibilities of our traditional casework supervisors include too much authority over individuals, and that separation of the teaching function from the agency au-

¹In psychiatric social work there has been a similar emphasis. See Genevieve S. Slear, "Some Administrative Aspects of Supervision," *Journal of Psychiatric Social Work*, XXIV (1954), 20-28.

²Also true in the psychiatric social work setting. See Lucille N. Austin, "An Evaluation of Supervision," *Social Casework*, XXXVII (1956), 375-83.

thority would dilute the power and the authority of the supervisory role as it is now organized.

Miss Austin's proposal for a staff position to be filled by an agency teacher to do direct casework teaching individually or in groups has been carried out in some public welfare offices. The experience to date in public welfare agencies, however, indicates that the separation of teaching in social work from administration has created some problems. It can make it more difficult for staff to determine what is appropriate practice within the agency structure in relation to caseloads, policies, and agency function. Moreover, the separation of the teaching function from the administrative line does not reduce "agency authority." The fact that the agency employs a teacher invests that person with the authority of the agency, and thus the knowledge being taught is backed with agency authority. If authority could be divested from the teaching function, the purpose of such teaching within an agency structure is open to question. The only purpose of teaching agency staff is to enable staff to provide services more effectively. I, therefore, disagree with Miss Austin that one should dilute or divest agency authority in any of the agency positions.

We have often found in public welfare agencies that when the supervisor sees his responsibility for ensuring that agency services are provided effectively, the teaching function becomes a normal and acceptable role. The supervisor is responsible for direction and teaching. He also is responsible for making appropriate use of the staff development consultant and other consultants for individual and group training sessions. The consultants are responsible for providing group training as needed, but they too teach the content related to the specific agency program and purpose.

The values of a separate agency teacher for certain groups of staff have been thoughtfully presented by Martha Moscrop.³ She identifies certain basic content that should be taught to untrained workers and distinguishes it from orientation to an agency program, which is needed by all new employees of an agency.

³ Martha Moscrop, *In-Service Training for Social Agency Practice* (Toronto, Ont.: University of Toronto Press, 1958).

A formal teaching program, identifying the knowledge and skill to be taught or deepened, may be the best way to help the beginning professional social worker reach professional maturity. Such a program, however, should be time-limited, and the individual should know that at the end of the period he will be expected to work in an administrative unit, carry responsibly the provision of direct services, and participate in program analysis and evaluation directed toward program development, social planning, and action. At the end of the period the social worker should be expected to operate adequately, without the daily help of the supervisor or of agency consultants.

There is a difference between the continuing education needed by beginning professional workers in what may be called "internship" and the orientation to agency program needed by any professional staff member as he changes positions within an agency or moves to another agency. The agency has responsibility for both types of training—teaching the specifics of the program and providing learning opportunities to enable a person to assume another role in the agency, which may involve, for example, teaching him the principles of supervision and administration.

The period of training and the content need to be plainly defined. Both the agency and the staff member should understand clearly when he is expected to be operating responsibly in carrying out his assigned functions; and when he is expected to perform professionally and to assume responsibility for his own advance in professional knowledge and skill.

Agency organization and administrative responsibilities.—If social workers are to achieve full professional performance, some of our present organizational structure must be changed. Social work, because it is ordinarily practiced within a defined organization, has for the most part assumed the traditional vertical structure of a hierarchy: the caseworker (the worker), then the supervisor (the boss), and then the head of the agency or the administrator (the decision-maker). This vertical system of organization has been predicated on the premise that each successive position is more important, requires more knowledge, and is worth more money.

We are only beginning in public welfare agencies to move away from the traditional vertical lines of responsibility and salary differential. We have started to consider the role of each position in the administrative structure and to determine the different knowledge and skills needed in carrying out these roles. Thus, we are beginning to develop the concept of cooperative staff responsibility for achieving agency goals. This concept of cooperative endeavor is basic to the consideration of supervision of staff. The determination of needed knowledge and skills for the various positions will provide a basis for the selection of individuals who have such skills and the attitudes needed for the job. The cooperative endeavor of staff makes it exceedingly important that selection based on competency, as well as on ability to work with others within a unit, be determined for maximum productive work. Whenever it is possible, prospective staff members should have an opportunity to meet with staff members. This provides both staff and the new staff member an opportunity to consider the pros and cons of working together.

In the development of public welfare agencies the selection of staff with professional training used responsibly for program development is breaking down the concept of the chain of command for all staff. This change is illustrated by the growing pattern of positions in line and staff that carry equal organizational and salary status. The position responsible for program and policy development, for example, may be placed on the same organizational line as the position responsible for field operations, which in our earlier history came under program development. Both line and staff positions in welfare agencies require considerable knowledge and skill and a cooperative approach to carry out agency responsibilities, and a clear division of responsibility is needed. In a few public welfare agencies, salaries of the professionally trained and experienced caseworkers have been set to equal supervisory and administrative positions. In these agencies the caseworker is responsible for a clearly defined level of service requiring highly skilled professional practice.

The administrator of an agency or of a unit of organization carries responsibility for ensuring that the agency's objectives are

attained. Actually, no administrator sits alone and makes decisions, nor should he. Mary Follett's "Illusion of Final Authority" ⁴ vividly make this point. Each staff member influences, negatively or positively, the administrator's considerations. The administrator cannot escape responsibility for a decision by giving it to the administrative unit group without his involvement as head of the unit. He must create a way whereby the staff realize that they are expected to think creatively with him and to participate vitally and productively in agency considerations whether the matter under consideration is a problem of Mrs. G. and her husband, the effect of the means test on an individual, a proposal to the legislature or to Congress for a new service or program, or the analysis and evaluation of a community program. Such considerations by staff often extend to obtaining information from within or outside the agency on which the appropriate action can be based. With conscious use of staff and other individuals the best and most current resources are used for determining policy, action, and agency operations.

Use of groups.—Ordinarily, group consideration provides an opportunity for creative thinking on the part of the administrator and the staff. Because all are involved in solving agency problems the cooperative effort of staff needed to accomplish the agency's purposes develops. Through discussion, also, the administrator identifies the particular competency of individual staff members and thus can make maximum use of each individual's knowledge and skill. Cooperative endeavor affords staff continuing opportunity for development and expansion of their knowledge and skills in fulfilling their individual responsibilities.

It is not intended that group consideration or consideration by a staff member and the administrator should replace or relieve either staff or administrator of their individual job responsibilities. Each person must continue to carry his own responsibilities. Group consideration enables the staff member to participate in developing agency positions, to understand agency problems, and

⁴ Mary P. Follett, "The Illusion of Final Authority" (mimeographed, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social Security Administration, Bureau of Public Assistance, Division of Technical Training). The material is reproduced by special permission of the Society for the Advancement of Management, 1957.

to have an opportunity to "problem-solve" with his colleagues both within his unit, with other agency personnel, and with outside experts. It provides a basis for his actions in carrying out his own job responsibilities. The administrator, through consultation with staff, is better able to carry his responsibilities.

It is my belief that administrators, in fact, cannot delegate their responsibilities. The function of the administrator is to ensure that the agency goals are achieved. He does this in a variety of ways. Major among these ways are the determination of functions and of the quality or level of service to be carried in individual positions; the establishment of appropriate procedures and methods for individuals to carry out their assigned functions and responsibilities; the making of over-all decisions on the purpose, objectives, and goals of the agency program. In fulfilling such responsibilities, the administrator makes use of all available knowledge and staff competency. Once administrative determinations are made, the responsibility for carrying them out becomes that of the individual staff members assigned to specific jobs. The individual is not "delegated" this responsibility to "act for" the administrator. He acts as a member of the agency staff, all of whom are committed to achieving agency goals.

Understanding job responsibilities.—An understanding of his job on the part of each staff member and of the responsibilities carried by other staff provides a good basis for working relationships. Such understanding is essential for assumption of joint responsibility for obtaining agency goals. From the administrative viewpoint it provides a basis for the administrator and the staff members to evaluate the effectiveness of agency administration and individual performance. It also makes possible a basis for analysis and evaluation of the impact of the agency program on the treatment and prevention of social ills.

In my view, the key to supervision is the clear and definitive assignment of functions and responsibility to perform them. It assumes that each staff member is competent and will use his skill and knowledge in working cooperatively with other staff members so that the program is really furthered. The clear assignment of responsibility means that staff must be able to work creatively,

without minute directions, and be held responsible for professional competency. It also makes clear that standards of work are agency requirements rather than the individual inclination of the particular supervisor. The most common devices used by agencies are statements of responsibility provided in job descriptions and standards of performance. The conscious use of such statements for clarity of responsibility (as well as for salary classification) provides an objective basis for the administrator and other members of a unit to proceed with the business of the agency.⁵

Climate of supervision.—Fulfilling job responsibility means that each staff member must be professionally analytical about the effectiveness of the agency program. For some reason, social workers seem to find it difficult to discuss agency performance except in relation to clients. I believe the social work concept basic to the supervision of staff is the complete acceptance of the individual as a creative person who wants to develop to his full capacity. The supervisor must have this belief, and it must permeate his total relationship with staff so that any discussion of performance does not affect personal relationships. This is hard to do. We often see people, both "up the line and down the line," tending to react personally rather than professionally to an analytical evaluation of agency effectiveness or individual performance. Perhaps here our professional knowledge of human behavior should be better utilized. A supervisor has the clear responsibility to provide a way in which agency performance can be evaluated without making the individual responsible for the particular activity feel that it is an attack on him as an individual. A supervisor's feeling about an individual or his feelings about the supervisor sometimes tend to prevent an honest examination of program purpose, its effectiveness, and ways of improving it. The reason is that often we must make the analysis with the persons who developed the program policy, those individuals responsible for implementing it, or those who taught it. Each member, and certainly the supervisor, must keep clear the integrity of

⁵ For further discussion of standards of performance, see Thomasine Hendricks, "Social Work Performance: Standards and Evaluation" (Division of Technical Training, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, October, 1957; mimeographed).

the staff member as an individual while at the same time providing a way for critical thinking on the issues.

This concept of administration may be threatening to both administrators and staff who have grown up on the chain-of-command concept with little communication upward and with directions coming down from the top. The chain-of-command concept has in some agencies frozen or prevented full utilization of staff knowledge and skills. It has often diffused or diluted the use of expert knowledge available in an agency. What right, I wonder, does an agency have to keep from community service the valuable skills lost in such hierarchal structure?

On the other hand, when an administrator actually makes possible the creative use of staff, some staff have found it hard to participate responsibly in program development, administrative planning, or problem-solving situations. This difficulty may be due to their lack of understanding of their role in administration. It may be because they have experienced what Dr. Edwin Bock describes as "narrow-minded administration," which takes the narrowest and most hyperorganizational view of administrative responsibilities and which too often results in human exploitation.⁶ It may be because of their feelings about their own competence or about their relationship to authority.

Some staff members say, "Tell me what policy position you want and then I'll produce the material" instead of seeing their responsibility, as experts, to provide the basis for adequate administrative consideration and planning. Some act out the old casework saw of waiting for the client to ask for help rather than taking their assigned responsibility. Some staff—in Federal, state, and local public welfare agencies—seem to view their jobs as doing what the person above them says to do instead of carrying professional responsibility for analyzing, evaluating, and proposing ways of attacking agency problems. The supervisors of professional staff must provide ways of ensuring that staff carry this responsibility and that the agency as a whole makes use of such thinking.

⁶ Edwin A. Bock, "Administration's Basic Concepts and the Social Work Curriculum," in *New Approaches to Administration and Research in Social Work Education* (New York: Council on Social Work Education, 1957).

Individual supervision.—Supervisors of beginning workers are clear on the need for individual educational diagnosis and for planning ways and means of providing opportunity to learn knowledge and skills. The same process of educational diagnosis is important at any level of administrative performance. The supervisor must, through study of personnel data, discussion, and review of work, assure himself that the staff member has the basic knowledge and skill needed for performance in his assigned functions. Such diagnosis is particularly important at the point of employment in the unit, changes in agency programs, and development of projects. If staff members do not have the necessary knowledge and skills to carry their responsibility, the agency must make arrangements to help them acquire them.

Probably one of the most discussed areas in supervision of professional staff today is whether or not the professionally trained and experienced staff member needs a supervisor. There are proposals that such staff should be free of supervisors and use consultation only when they feel the need for help on a problem and that their work should not be reviewed by agency supervisors. I believe this confusion has arisen because of our concept that the supervisor inspects, approves, and teaches, which implies that the supervisor must always know more than the staff member. The staff member frequently knows more than the supervisor about some things. A supervisor may know more in some areas, but this is not the basis for supervisory responsibility. In the administrative unit, the supervisor may have experts or specialists in certain fields, such as medicine, home economics, personnel, or in specialized areas of social work, such as group work or research. It is the supervisor's job, however, as the administrator of the unit, to see that the work of the unit is accomplished. He must have objective data on which to base his evaluation of the quality of agency service for planning in his own unit staff and for total agency planning. Whether he is supervising caseworkers, field staff, consultants, policy writers, or teachers, the supervisor must review objectively the work of the staff member in order to judge the level of unit performance and agency effectiveness. Such information will be used with the staff for program planning, work plan-

ning, and for the administrative unit's consideration. A review of this type does not relieve the individual staff member of responsibility for evaluating objectively his own strengths and weaknesses and for requesting either supervisory or consultative help to improve his performance. If his review indicates areas that need attention, the supervisor must make appropriate plans for providing individual help, group consideration, consultation, or special training to ensure opportunity for maximum use of the staff member's capacity.

The agency's organized staff development program for group training should be used when staff in various units need similar educational opportunities. We think of the importance of providing training opportunities more often for worker and first-line administrative staff than for other administrative staff. This seems to be particularly true of top agency staff. The supervisor of the unit, as well as the agency staff development consultant, must be alert to individual and group needs for keeping informed on the developments within the field, knowledge needed because of new agency programs, or changes in program emphasis, particularly projects on problem areas. Some of us in administrative positions as supervisors or consultants, for example, obtained our professional education before social group work became a part of all social workers' education. We, therefore, had to obtain some knowledge of working with groups. Another example is in the field of medicine. We must keep abreast of medical progress, such as the development of drugs for treatment of tuberculosis and mental illness, that affects our practice as social workers. Use of organized educational opportunities both within the agency and outside are necessary to supplement the opportunities for staff development.

I should like to emphasize an area of responsibility that needs continuing work on the part of all supervisors if we are to achieve the concept of administration which I have been discussing. The supervisor must endeavor to provide staff the kind of professional opportunity that makes it possible for individual staff members to represent the agency in a variety of situations. Through such opportunities staff are helped to strengthen their professional selves

for all aspects of their immediate jobs and to move more actively in the significant areas of community development and social planning. In a sense, perhaps, I am thinking of true professional status within one's own agency. As social work administrators, do we not carry professional responsibility to open avenues and so make available for the benefit of society as a whole the specialized knowledge of our staff? We tend to think of administrators as the logical persons for serving on community committees, as speakers and participants in community planning. Other social work staff, instead of contributing to the community their special knowledge and skill as a planned part of their agency responsibility, for the most part make their contribution as private citizens or through their professional associations. A supervisor of a unit, particularly if he is head of a unit in the higher ranks of administration, must find ways and means for other staff members to be invited to speak at meetings, serve on committees (both within and outside his agency), and represent the agency officially.

In summary, then, all staff in an agency should participate in administration in order to achieve sound social planning, program development, and provision of services. The ways of administration that I have discussed are of value to the extent they achieve this goal. It is therefore of particular importance that all staff—the caseworker, the supervisor, and the administrator—be professionally prepared to achieve these goals of administration. In this time of acute shortage of professionally trained personnel, the achievement of the maximum use of all staff regardless of the kind of organization or the individual placement is the ever-present challenge to those who occupy administrative and supervisory positions.

Effecting Change through Social Group Work

by *BERNARD M. SHIFFMAN*

IN ALL THE LIVING OF WHICH I KNOW ANYTHING, group formation is everywhere. It engulfs the individual and it is often difficult to separate the point at which the individual ends from that at which the group of which he is a part begins. All of us belong to a variety of groups—some are called “organizations.” We bring all of ourselves to the group, and our concept of self is the clue to the way in which we use ourselves in them. Our lives are continuous processes of using our individual selves in reaching out to, or withdrawing from, the demands of the world as we meet them in the groups of which we are a part. Most of our satisfactions are recorded in the conception we have of the “mark” we make in the groups which we grow through.

Some groups we are born into; others we are put, placed, or drafted into; some we voluntarily seek to join. In each group the individual experiences status, acceptance, prestige, achievement, failure, control, leadership and followership, responsibility, and the rest of the long list of psychological reactions which flow between people. All these group experiences have some impact on us, and we, in turn, attempt to affect the group. The importance of group experiences is evident from even a cursory examination of the gamut from the “overorganizational woman” to the “left-out kid.” It is a universal fact that in meeting life’s developmental task, man and the “lowly ant,” regardless of race, creed, color, or condition of economic servitude, use groups as the medium. To the people who participate in them, all groups are functional. The group setting is the reality in which much social learning takes

place. Here, attitudes or values develop, individuals hammer out their frames of reference for future use, and through groups the individual develops good or ill will toward the other individuals with whom he shares the street corner and the outer galaxy.

Participation in the many or few groups does not automatically result in the individual's developing the skills he needs to make life worth while. Nor is cooperative enterprise toward socially desirable goals the automatic result of group function. A group can support individuality—make a fetish of it—or force conformity; neither is “good” or “bad” of itself but is qualified by conformity “to what.” A group can foster participation, or provide a platform for the performance of the indigenous leader with the group members participating only as spectators. A group can provide an opportunity to experience freedom of choice based on a full discussion of the issues, or merely be an experience in demagogic control. Society—our society—has a real stake in what happens haphazardly to the individuals on our street corners and in our neighborhoods, especially since the social climate of our society is the result of the accumulation of individual and group experiences.

Participation in a group should not be regarded as *prima-facie* evidence that positive values will accrue to the participants. Among other examples, well-intentioned service organizations have rallied to the call to serve youth with Little Leagues and teen-age canteens, but with a terrifying ignorance and disregard for the quality of the leadership which they provide. The values which I have seen developed in hundreds of Little Leaguers by overly competitive coaches and parents would do credit to any authoritarian youth movement.

The uses which have been made by people of their groups toward accomplishing their ends inevitably have led to the recognition that the conscious direction of the group process is a key to many doors. A motley crew have become involved in employing the group process as a medium through which they attempt to accomplish their goals. Some use the group process intuitively. Others have developed techniques based on findings in the behavioral sciences. Most play scientifically directed hunches.

Among the group users are the group therapists and educators but also the politicians, propagandists, sales promoters, and, of late, the "hidden persuaders." The latter group claim to coerce people subliminally to be influenced by the social group to which they aspire, to develop conceptions of themselves which require two cars, deep freezers, and outboard motors.

The growing public awareness of these group users has made us all suspicious of manipulation, intervention, and the ulterior motive, even though it may be in support of the peaceful use of atomic energy. However, there is a distinct feeling that a college degree implies group know-how. Those who worked with the underprivileged so long—helping them to reach for higher education, better incomes, better housing, and the "good suburban neighborhood"—have learned that all of this, while it may be eventually desirable, does not protect the clientele or ourselves from losing the unique sense of self or of being used in the groups. Nor do we automatically create happy individuals who are socially healthy and who have a sense of participation in their community.

Out of the thinking and writing of educators, sociologists, recreation specialists, settlement workers, and group leaders there slowly emerged a constellation of ideas in the social work sky which was called "group work." In one sense, it was looked upon as a cause or a movement. It was, and continues to be, confused with work with groups, progressive education, and adult education. It was religious in tone. For some, it was a setting; for others, it was a particular kind of agency; and for still others, it was embodied in a trained social worker. Nor has the final word been said about the practice of social group work: the Group Work Section of the National Association of Social Workers is attempting to arrive at a description of the practice on which there can be agreement.

Notwithstanding the need for further study of the practice, the uniqueness of the social group work method is that it is designed to help members use their groups for their own fulfillment instead of being used. This idealized concept is limited only by the goals of the agency which supplies the worker.

To recognize that even in a humanistic, democratic society

groups need the opportunity to have professional helpers to accomplish their own purposes is a real contribution to our society. The recognition that this service was needed if individuals were to reach their potential and to give their best to society as a whole was based on their understanding that the group was a powerful influence for personal and social change.

The essence of the social group work method, as I understand it, is the addition of a trained social worker to a group which is an entity in itself. He is assigned to the group to use his skill, his training, and the function of the agency consciously to affect the processes of the group of which he is an integral part; but not to use it for his own purpose. He is assigned as a representative of the agency and accepted by the group members in this role and primarily as a program consultant.

The worker uses his knowledge of people and the group process, his insights and observations, and his "self," to help the group with that which is of concern to them. In helping them pursue their concerns, he may introduce new concepts, teach new skills, and identify attitudes.

The group members deepen their insight into themselves, their group, and their community by becoming participants in the directed group process wherein they make decisions and take action to accomplish the purposes of the group, both expressed and unexpressed.¹

The worker is aware of individual needs. Frequently he works with individuals and subgroups around their special concerns. However, his eye is on the group as a whole. He is responsive to the needs of the whole.

The worker, conscious of his status, encourages the group to use the healing and growth power contained in the group rather than his intervention as the instrument of social change. The recent rash of teen-age studies underscores the fact that peers are much more important to teen-agers than adults who are "dying to help," especially in the area of interiorization of social attitudes.

¹ Helen U. Phillips, *Essentials of Social Group Work Skill* (New York: Association Press, 1957).

In our American society, the worker consciously attempts to affect the interacting process, the impact of peer upon peer within the democratic-humanistic framework which gave rise to social work and the social group work method. His function is defined in part by the employing agency and in part by his sense of professional self. The purpose for which the group was organized determines to a considerable degree what the worker does. The worker's role is also determined by the group's acceptance of the worker and the service which the agency is offering through him. This entire process, in a constant state of flux, establishes the limits within which he can offer assistance to the group.

To give a full explanation of a method which is based on the diagnosis of a dynamic situation, has no prescribed route to follow, and can be used only in a tailor-made fashion, is a pleasure I will forego. We have in recent years developed a shelf of books which deal exhaustively with the method. Suffice to say that it is a specific time-place setting, where the life streams of the members of the group crisscross and intertwine. The result is somewhat like the music resulting from a combination of instruments playing sometimes discordantly, sometimes harmoniously, sometimes in unison; but, unlike the chamber music group and more like a jazz session, without sheet music to follow.

Instead of further discussion of the social group work method, I would choose several ingredients of the group process which are of particular significance to our "shook-up generation." An examination of these ingredients would give some indication of the potential significance of the social group work method to the social and personal needs of people.

Leadership in our society, like motherhood, is too often considered an intuitive skill which is performed by "doing what comes naturally." This implies that responsible leadership is a static state to which people are born rather than developed. I do not agree with this. Our form of democracy is as dependent on the development of people who can assume and accept responsible leadership as it is on the "suckling of scientists." In our structure of government, the proliferation of committees, commissions, boards, and councils, organized to conduct more and more serv-

ices, requires a bottomless pool of leaders. This is without any consideration of the voluntary organizations which supplement these services. This trend toward ever increasing participation on the part of an ever enlarging number of citizens is a desirable one if we are to get over our reliance on "the few" or the increasing total dependence on the expert.

The current image of "the leader" results in a reluctance on the part of responsible people to accept nomination for leadership. We know that having a winning personality, being ready to stand up and voice one's opinion, or just having good connections, is not enough. Many have experienced being "stuck" with a position to which they have been elected, only to find that the electorate has given up all the responsibility except the right to be critical.

The peer groups in which we participate are the "cricket fields of Eton" for experiences in leadership. In a group in which all the participants are engaged in using the group for their own ends, the leadership role is situational and may shift from member to member, or clique to clique. The group will have experiences with a series of leaders to whom they may react with everything from allegiance to revolution. Leaders will emerge who will try to use the other members to meet their own unique and individual needs. The results will range from cooperation, conformity, and integration to stealing away into the night and out of the group.

When a social worker is assigned to a group of peers, his primary concern will be the social health of the group. He functions in many constructive ways to help the group protect itself against individual or clique authoritarian control. As a matter of fact, he functions in such a manner as to support whatever resources and experiences the members have in combating such control. On occasion, he may work toward the dissolution of a particular constellation of individuals if, according to his diagnosis, he thinks that continued experiences in this group will injure the social health of the members who participate in it. Individuals who need specialized help will be assisted by the worker to use resources available in the community.

The presence of a worker in a group makes its activity a protected experience in the sense that he helps the indigenous leaders in their role and at the same time enables the group to evaluate and react to the nature of that leadership. The goal of the worker in this dual support is to increase the responsibility of the group as a whole for the outcome of its operation. How the worker uses the authority, status, and prestige inherent in his position affects the group. How he uses himself in the light of the group members' recognition of him as an expert is crucial to their future use of the expert. Will they consult with him about ways in which it can be done rather than insist that he tell them what to do? For me, this is the essence of the leadership role, the expert's role in our society.

According to my concept of the role of the expert, the social group worker is an expert in how to help clientele use the group process. He is expert in helping the individuals use the group toward self-realization and toward making their maximum contribution. He enhances the ability of the group members to take leadership and followership responsibility in order to solve the problems which are of concern to them, by way of the group.

In our democracy, with all the elbow room for participating in decisions, there is no clear-cut way of voting on the important social problems. Many answers are delivered by mechanical computers and electrical brains, but people are still left with the difficult problems which involve choice, judgment, and values. Too many people are looking toward machine-produced answers as the potential problem-solvers.

The solutions to the social problems of our day lie in the evolutionary changes in the social climate. This social climate is the accumulation of the processes of the many organizations into which people group themselves. Many develop purposefully to take stands on the gigantic, complex, and almost incomprehensible social problems. Even the majority of those social organizations which convene only for sociability, which do not have social action as a stated part of their purpose, become involved in societal concerns because the members permit themselves to be related to other human beings in the group process.

The social worker in the group has been educated to discover, understand, and continuously analyze the internal organizational structure of the group and the values of its members. He tries to learn the criteria and methods by which the group arrives at its decisions. Its ability to handle the decision-making process often determines the social worker's activity with the group.

The program content, which he consciously attempts to introduce, is directed at fostering greater participation of the members and raising the level of the problems with which they concern themselves. With his professional discretion, based on his diagnosis of the group's problems, he exposes group members to the degree of acceptance of difference which they can tolerate so as deliberately to create an imbalance in their patterns of group decision-making. The worker in the group setting attempts this in order that it may occasion a regrouping of the "ions" of common sense, values, and prejudice so that decision-making may be creative, instead of compliant or conforming or, even worse, a complete withdrawal from the problem.

For example, a gang worker concerned with the problem of respect for the law and authority invited a juvenile delinquency officer to join him and his boys for a camping weekend. Joe came, out of uniform, and participated in the ball-playing and bull sessions. The boys were "bewitched, bothered, and bewildered" by the policeman who was "a cop and a hipster too." When they planned another trip, they suggested that Joe be invited.

The process through which a group decides who belongs to or may join the group indicates to the worker the group's ability to function as an instrument for individual fulfillment—it tests the social health of the group. Moreover, whom they consider as desirable for membership, how inclusive they are of difference, on what they base their choice, are all diagnostic tools that he can use in determining the values and attitudes possessed by the group at any given moment.

The decision-making process calls loudest on accumulated experiences, values, prejudices, and ideas of the individuals in the group to solve problems and decide their course of action. Such a process is charged intellectually and emotionally and offers the

group members a choice ranging from opportunity for constructive change and growth to static conformity with the "style-setter." Decision-making by the group based on an inner direction, not external duress, is important because it so often brings the members to their threshold of psychic tolerance. It permits "that conflict which is the essence of living," according to Eduard Lindeman. With a worker there, to encourage participation—participation being the only way members can remain socially healthy—the process is likely to be of real significance.

The worker who is with the group, *not* to satisfy his own personal needs, listens, encourages discussion, helps members understand their differences and agreements, helps support individuals in their disappointments, and works with them toward implementing their decisions.

All social groups are almost constantly in the throes of making some kind of decision. There are little decisions, such as setting the time for the next meeting; bigger and more emotionally charged decisions, like whether to invite the girls' club to their next party; and complicated ones, such as should we, and how should we, protest the agency's policy about forbidding liquor on the premises? Because the process is a constant, repetitious one, involving formal and informal decisions, many are never specifically stated but become part of the internalized values of the group members which they use in other situations or when they are "going out to do—nothing." The worker who succeeds in helping a group work through, and deepen its understanding of, the ways in which to deal with its problems, has helped prepare the group and its members for taking effective action in the community.

The group receiving social group work service can be helped to try all kinds of decision-making—consensus, compromise, majority rule, enforcement by authority, and the use of power. At one and the same time, the worker will be called upon to be supportive to any member in the group whether he be part of the majority subgroup or an individual dissenter. In all cases, the worker does not foster dependence on himself, nor does he deny the variety of feelings which are experienced by members, but his

support is based on preserving the group as their resource for growth.

The social worker in a group functions in such a way as to bring a sense of reality to the group in their decision-making process. Although he does not always intervene so as to prevent the group from making mistakes, he does attempt to help them understand and match their resources to the problems which they are attempting to solve; and to appreciate the consequences of their decisions. The worker does not accept all decision-making as a value in itself. For example, a group decision of the highest degree—a decision by consensus—must be protested by the worker if its objective is to steal an automobile.

A sense of responsibility and commitment is developed only as a result of group and individual participation in the decision-making process. Somehow, we are prepared to do something about only those issues which we understand and in which we have been involved in developing a solution. I am reminded of a group worker who decided that it would foster community spirit if greens were strung on the lamp posts in the neighborhood for Christmas. The block group reluctantly hung the greens. The story of the four-months campaign to get the men to remove the greens after Christmas would make another article. Finally, in the spring, the worker persuaded several wives to blackmail their husbands into removing the greens—which they promptly carted back to the agency, filling every one of the trash cans.

In emphasizing the concept of leadership and decision-making, I have deliberately left out other aspects of the social group work method as it is practiced. However, I shall make some direct comments on social change. Social change is the inevitable result of each and every experience the individual or group has. Change by itself is neither good nor bad. It can only be given an effective tone by people in a specific situation with a particular value system and a concept of goals.

The change which a group can accomplish is related to the degree to which there is mutual acceptance and respect among the members of the group; to the degree to which the group is accomplishing its purpose in the community; and to the importance

of the group to the other members of the community. The higher the prestige of the group in the community, the greater will be its effect on individual members to change.

Heretofore, I have commented on the worker's role in affecting the group process so as to encourage social change. While I preach at the drop of a hat about the social changes which I think are needed, I am also aware of the need to exercise caution in using the social group work method which effects personal and social change. The way people are and act is their momentary solution to existing in a complicated world. Change, unless it produces a more satisfying solution to the "piece of life" which faces an individual, can merely result in a rearrangement of old problems to which another, sometimes less satisfying, solution has to be found. For example, the people who wanted to clear the slums and provide adequate housing found themselves faced with new minority ghettos and concentrations of multiple-problem families. The problems created may, in the long run, be more difficult to solve than the original housing problem.

Just as it is difficult to plan for and provide adequate housing without taking into account other considerations, the social group worker cannot practice in isolation. He must remember that the group and its members have other experiences than those under agency auspices; that they must not get cut off from the community in which they are living; and that there are other services which affect their lives. As the group moves into its responsibility in the community, it is in this framework that the worker helps them select and take action on problems. He must also help them join with other groups and councils whenever additional resources are needed to tackle the larger problems.

A settlement house in Chicago assigned its one trained group worker to organize block groups in a highly transitory neighborhood. These groups were formed to promote neighborliness, friendliness, and sociability. When a fire destroyed one of the slum buildings, killing several families, the neighbors knew each other and quickly got together in their block groups to talk things over. Fast action resulted, and a timely meeting about better enforcement of the housing code was held with the Mayor. This action

arising out of basic concerns was only one result of the agency's investment in social group work skill. The agency, through the worker, helped their neighbors use the friendship groups to effect some change in the community situation rather than merely accepting it.

Social change is never total in effect but is achieved as it is partialized and reached step by step in undramatic solutions. As a matter of fact, people can only react to the small problems that affect them. They are impeded from taking action when faced with the global headline problems which make up most of the news. Social change, to be effective, must be simultaneous on the setting and the individual—a natural consequence of the use of the social group work method.

It has been said that "change of heart comes only with a greater appreciation of reality." The social group worker in working with the concerns of the group is dealing with such reality.

The agency and the social worker committed to helping people grow and society change must be cautioned from also deciding the specific goals. To provide opportunities for groups to work for change is an appropriate service. But it must be coupled with a belief that people can chart their own way toward solution even in a world in which there are few absolutes.

There are still too many unanswered questions, even with the enlarged body of knowledge concerning people, for anyone to determine specific goals for someone else. How competitive, how aggressive, or how cooperative does the individual need to be in order to fend for himself in the future? Can people meet the challenge of authoritarian leadership without using authoritarian means? Whose values are desirable goals?

I believe that the social group work method, as utilized by social institutions, is a potential force for changes of real significance. The few social group workers we have are usually employed by social work agencies which offer their services to the lowest group in the community power structure and, therefore, are the least likely to participate in the more important community decisions. Because of the narrow spread of the social group work service, only a few people have had the use of the service. This

limitation makes measurement of the effectiveness of the method almost impossible.

A community that finances social group work service does so as an act of faith. This act of faith, which uses up an insignificant amount of the voluntary contributed dollars, is shown by agencies employing social group workers who are working primarily with: (1) the groups who are most alienated from the community's life stream—immigrants and those who must remain in their old neighborhoods, the elderly, the handicapped, and the antisocial gangs; (2) neighborhood groups concerned with housing, conservation or renewal of neighborhoods, youth welfare services, or just neighborhood morale; (3) sectarian groups who seek to develop specialized services which contribute to their cultural-religious tradition.

The values inherent in providing these services I found expressed in *Ideas, People, and Peace*, in which Chester Bowles quotes Nehru as saying, "We have accepted the democratic process because we think in the final analysis, it promotes the growth of human beings and society . . . and because we attach a great value to the freedom of the individual."²

We have to develop skill in helping people learn to adjust and live with the valid fears and anxieties of our new world. "We have to develop new institutions and methods with which to meet the new situations," said Brock Chisholm, in a TV appearance.

"The creation of the ultimate veto power over the continued existence of the human race, makes it more important than ever for people to learn how to get along with their fellow man."³

The social group work method is a relatively new method still to be given a real try.

² Chester Bowles, *Ideas, People, and Peace* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958), p. 91.

³ From television program, *The Great Challenge*, April 20, 1958, CBS "Symposium on Human Relations: Individual Relationships in a Mass Society"; participants: Dr. Eric Fromm, Lionel Trilling, Dr. Ralph W. Tyler, Dr. Lawrence Kubie, Dr. William Foote White, and Dr. Brock Chisholm.

An Assessment of Social Action

by RUDOLPH T. DANSTEDT

SIR WILLIAM BEVERIDGE, in discussing the British social insurances some years ago, identified what he called the five social evils of an urban and industrial society. These, highly summarized, are:

1. *Squalor*.—Poor living conditions, poor and inadequate housing, insufficient open spaces, and inadequate or unsanitary surroundings.

2. *Idleness*.—Idleness or unemployment due to industrial dislocations beyond the control of the industrial worker.

3. *Ignorance*.—Insufficient education to operate in a modern industrial society.

4. *Sickness*.—The need for medical care, which is present in every society but which is emphasized in our society by the complex and difficult problems of providing adequate medical care for those who need it.

5. *Want*.—The problem of economic need, or the need of industrial wage earners to be protected against the sudden cessation of their income from wages.

It hardly needs to be demonstrated that when any or some combination of these "five horsemen" are visited upon a family unit, a culture is created in which the incipient seeds of family discord and disunity fester.

It is therefore the first and, it would appear, obvious thesis of this paper that family-centered social work services, psychiatric services, and programs for control and prevention of juvenile delinquency are only fully realizable as therapies against family breakdown when at least the grosser aspects of the epidemic conditions induced by the five social evils have been eliminated. How

lightly dormant are the demons of need and want has been demonstrated over the past few months as we have moved up to almost 6 million unemployed persons, while the deterioration of our central cities, the massing medical care needs of the aged, and the demands of automation and global technological competition remind us that squalor, sickness, and ignorance remain to menace us.

Holding to this point of view is not necessarily a gloom-and-doom approach to our social problems if we choose to recognize that what man made he can remake and modify. The process of such remaking and modifying is one definition of social action.¹ There is a danger as we look at the problems of urban living, more specifically at the difficulties of family rearing in urban communities, and even more specifically at the excrescences upon the problems of family rearing, described as family breakdown, that we may want to resort to what a politician recently called "flyspecking"; that is, instead of trying to tackle the large issues, our program might be one of relying upon methods of individual treatment without a companion concern and activities for corrective measures.

If we accept that key social measures can be insurance against an environment hostile to healthy family living and growth, then we need to recognize the importance of an orderly, firm, and vigorous effort to secure and improve such social measures. In any consideration of approaches to such measures, ground will necessarily be plowed that has been well cultivated by many distinguished speakers and writers in the social work field. This contribution can perhaps best be a distillation of some of these past observations, setting them in the context of the moment.

In pursuing this subject, there are a half dozen principles that need restating and elaboration:

1. Social workers and others concerned with social issues need

¹ Social action is usually defined as "a process of individual, group, or inter-group endeavor" whose "objective is to enhance the welfare of society through modifying social policy and the functioning of the social structure, or working to obtain new programs and services." Sanford Solender, "Social Action," in Russell H. Kurtz, ed., *Social Work Year Book, 1957* (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1957), pp. 517-18.

to know themselves and their attitudes toward these issues and the methods employed in achieving progress.

2. If we are to avoid "flyspecking," large goals and aspirations must be developed from which pieces can be selected for action in relation to needs, opportunities, and urgencies.

3. A strategy for progress and movement on selected steps toward larger goals is essential, as is also a mechanism for achieving this strategy, including the necessary bureaucracy.

4. It is essential to have the philosophy and attitude that time, patience, and energy are required to overcome inertia and to keep a forward movement.

5. There must be willingness to accept frequently the half loaf or the quarter loaf of legislative objectives, and this must be viewed as a mark of statesmanship rather than an abhorrent abdication of principles.

6. It is not ignoble or improper to recruit for a particular cause a varied and motley crew who, except for the issues under consideration, may in other areas of legislation be diametrically opposed to each other.

Heal thy self is good advice not only to physicians, but to social workers as well. In an interesting analysis of the interrelationships of politics, economics, and welfare, Dahl and Lindblom maintain:

Whether a nation can achieve rational politico-economic organization depends not only upon the particular economic techniques it employs, but upon the political and economic literacy of its citizens, their faiths and attitudes—in fact upon its culture as a whole—as well as upon fortuitous circumstances.²

For some years it has been the fashion to scold social workers for mincing along in public affairs rather than seeking to match the strides of the Addams, Abbotts, Lovejoys, and others—our giants of social reform at the turn of the century. This chiding was probably deserved and certainly necessary unless the profession should withdraw entirely within the comfortable carapace of casework and group work practice narrowly defined.

Deserved undoubtedly are criticisms that social work has failed

²Robert A. Dahl and Charles E. Lindblom, *Politics, Economics, and Welfare* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), p. 19.

to make itself a major force in legislative halls through its own efforts or in concert with others. Even more serious is the criticism that social workers and lay leaders seem to avoid assiduously any issues that are even slightly controversial and on which it can be reasonably presumed that they might well have words of wisdom and seasoned judgment.

Several writers have sought to account for this passive or abstemious or even neutralist attitude. Recognized is the fact that the reformers of yore were men and women who, taking the tide at the flood, led on to fame. Fortunately, the last ten years have seen much less fluctuation between the spring and neap tides of financial security for Americans than marked the scene even a generation ago. Combating today's social problems is not so much a voyage of social adventure as a planful process of extension and improvement through what the sociologists call "incrementalism."

These writers point to the institutionalization of social work which Donald Howard maintains "tends to create a schism between practice and reform efforts."³ The social worker as employee is removed from the points where decisions are made, and in the instance, of course, of medical, psychiatric, and school social workers may be inhibited by the mores of the host institution as well as twice removed from the points of basic policy decision. Commendable and necessary efforts to pursue a scholarly and scientific path appear to some to require a pattern of propriety and sobriety. Curiously, though, these qualities do not seem to be as fully demanded of lawyers, doctors, or even atomic scientists—many of whom have refreshingly independent points of view on society, peace, and war.

It is understandable that employed professionals, whether social workers, teachers, librarians, doctors, or corporation attorneys, should tend to be "organization men" for whom a high test of ability is adequate adjustment to their employment environment. Those pioneers of forty and fifty years ago, whom David Riesman would undoubtedly describe as "inner-directed" characters, would

³ Donald S. Howard, "Social Work and Social Reform," in Cora Kasius, ed., *New Directions in Social Work* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954), p. 164.

probably have been unable to get or hold a position where the demand is for an "other-directed" personality.⁴

Deeper than all these factors may be a chronic and most unfortunate American denigration of politics which is viewed as a sordid game of compromise rather than the "art of the possible." T. V. Smith, in his Eduard C. Lindeman Memorial Lecture, outlines three propositions as to the nature and place of politics in civilized life:

Proposition One: Politics rightfully deals only with second-rate things.

Proposition Two: Politics utilizes only a second-rate method: the method of compromise.

Proposition Three: Politics relies only on second-rate motives—on fear of compulsion at the worst and at the best on counsels of prudence.⁵

Dr. Smith, in his refreshing and exciting lecture, deals realistically with the art of government and notes Dr. Lindeman's frequent observation that "perfectionism and democracy are incompatible." Politics, says Dr. Smith, cannot deal with the first-rate things—our religious and other beliefs—but it must deal with "the regulation of all human relations that can be spelled out as concrete rights or as enforceable duties."⁶ In this process it attempts to do not what is perfect in the opinion of some, but what is possible in the opinion of most.

Planning for health, welfare, and education is hardly an exciting exercise if, as so frequently is the case, it is primarily concerned with coordination of the multiplicity of agencies each involved in some limited aspect of a problem. Yet it is recognized that no exercise is more difficult or controversial or necessary than the long look ahead. Some organizations, to their eternal credit, have sought to think beyond the day and the year. The American

⁴The heavy price paid by nonconformists is illustrated in detail in "Nine Reports on Academic Freedom and Tenure" included in the *Spring Issue of the Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors*, March, 1958. Here we see what happens to faculty who are politically active, exercise their constitutional right to plead the Fifth Amendment, and favor desegregation in a segregated community.

⁵T. V. Smith, "A Political Primer for Social Workers," in *The Social Welfare Forum*, 1955 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), p. 65.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 66.

Public Welfare Association, for example, seeks to set forth in its welfare policy statements what it believes needs to be developed with respect to our public welfare and social insurance programs and programs for promotion of health, prevention of sickness, rehabilitation, and minimum wages. The social policy statements of the National Association of Social Workers, ranging from the important but relatively narrow field of corrections to international social welfare, are constant subjects of debate. To some, the goals outlined in these statements are utopian, unrealistic, and beyond the range of social work competence, while to others their scope is too opportunistic and limited. With all their imperfections, they do demonstrate that a condition for social action is both a position in the present and an effort to extrapolate a bit into the future. To go ahead requires a route. Whether we talk about one-year or two-year or five-year plans, plans for combating all or some of the five social evils are essential to progress. It has been often said that a decision to do nothing is also a form of planning.

There are many instruments for such planning: national organizations, state organizations, and local community groups. Some of these organizations are weak vessels because of the political and economic illiteracy of their constituents, and for other reasons that will be subsequently outlined. Others have capacity for strength even though on some issues and problems their following may be limited, while still others have achieved and hold strength because they know what they want and how to approach their wants.

Anyone who has followed the literature and meetings of such groups, for example, as the United States Chamber of Commerce cannot help but be impressed by how sharply the great resources of this organization are focused to effectuate their public social policies. They are against Social Security expansion for a variety of reasons, but most succinctly because they consider some of the proposals to be socialized medicine. They are against urban renewal because it is intervention in state and local affairs. They are against improvement in minimum wage legislation because it would interfere with local and intrastate commerce and boost

costs. They are against TVA expansion and power dam projects because it is government competition with business. They are against Federal programs to aid education on a claim that they would lead to Federal control of education. These are not platforms for the moment; they look ahead and provide a guide line for local chambers of commerce and state chambers of commerce with respect not only to Federal legislation but also to local and state legislation which seeks, in part, objectives similar to those of Federal legislation.

It is sometimes said that it is easier to be against something than for something. Generally this is true, particularly if one's own interests are affected. But it needs to be noted that opposition requires goals and organization also; it is not an automatic process.

Improvements and adjustments in the vast machinery that has been erected over the last generation for health, welfare, and education are now the concern of a powerful array of forces represented by government, organized business, and organized labor. When somewhere in the order of \$10 billion annually is paid out in the form of Old-age and Survivors and Disability Insurance benefits and Federal and state payments for public assistance, and somewhere in the order of \$55 billion of public and private funds were expended in 1957 for the range of programs and services included under the broad caption of health, education, and welfare—about 16 percent of the national income⁷—these programs and services have an important impact upon our economy, and any changes and adjustments in them are of economic and political significance. It can be expected, therefore, that many opinions will be held as to how a particular social problem can be most effectively solved. Thus, for example, there were submitted to the Joint Economic Committee of the Congress in November, 1957, seventy papers on the subject of Federal expenditure policy for economic growth and stability.⁸ Five of these papers came from economists connected with organized labor, while seven were from representatives of business trade associations. The field of social

⁷ *Federal Expenditure Policy for Economic Growth and Stability*, Report of the Joint Economic Committee, First Session, 85th Congress, November 5, 1957 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1957); from paper by Wilbur J. Cohen.

⁸ *Ibid.*

work as such was formally represented by only one paper. However, a closer examination of this report indicates that definite and often contradictory points of view concerning health, education, and welfare were advanced by business, labor, and a number of university economists. Design or redesign, therefore, of the methods or systems that might best deal with the five social evils demands that social welfare possess a research and scholarly competence capable of wide-range analysis, for many inquiring eyes will be peering over its shoulders. The cost and scope of social welfare services demand further that members of the social work profession become increasingly equipped to provide wise consultation on the content of legislation, to secure sponsorship for such legislation, to develop methods for moving such legislation along in the legislative halls, to recruit support from interested sources—in short, to function as “legislative engineers” or, more precisely, “lobbyists.”

The assumption that an important role is played by laying the facts before various groups who then will draw their own conclusions is too detached in today's world to have any reality. If legislation is to be secured and the voices of social workers heard, a bureaucracy capable of achieving these ends must be developed. This will demand a willingness on the part of organizations with hard-headed determination to get legislative results to forego tax-exempt contributions and/or a pooling of resources from a variety of organizations which are tax exempt, into a mechanism that can be the spokesman for them.

This sort of broad social policy leadership, possessing competence in research and knowledge of administrative complexes and capacity and energy to promote support for legislation, was the serious concern of a special group called together by the New York School of Social Work at Arden House in 1957. While no resolutions were adopted at this conference, there was a clear consensus that ways and means must be found to attract people with capacities for this type of social statesmanship and then in the educational process prepare them for the time when opportunity calls.

Loose-jointed *ad hoc* committees who address themselves to a

particular legislative problem serve some valuable purposes, but they will never be the equivalent of a substantial nucleus of people at the local, state, and Federal levels who know their way around and can command resources and support that will affect the decision-makers in the legislative halls. A candid appraisal of the efforts of so-called social welfare "lobbys" is that while they manage to secure some minor etchings on the body politic, no mass pressure exists to mold the contours of legislation significantly. It seems evident that as social welfare's political and economic literacy grows it will need to fashion some system for transmitting its knowledge and concerns in fashions similar to those now employed by organized business and organized labor. The stake of the health and welfare field in government responsibility to people is too important to be left to desultory efforts.

Achieving legislative results except in time of crisis is seldom a dramatically swift process even in relatively noncontroversial areas. George Wells, the English novelist and historian, put this in the extreme when he said: "We have come to rely upon a comfortable time lag of fifty years or a century intervening between the perception that something ought to be done and a serious attempt to do it." We tend to move a little faster in the American scene. A dramatic example is how the time and the will of one man was eventually successful in the twelve-year fight of Senator George Norris to establish the TVA. Senator Norris battled his own party, the opposition party, and two Presidential vetoes before in 1933 he succeeded in securing the legislation for the TVA and a Presidential signature.⁹ Bailey and Samuel, in commenting on the efforts of Senator Norris, claimed that it demonstrates that despite "a marked shift in emphasis from concern with the 'individual' as an effective instrument of social change to concern with the 'group,'" we must not write off "the importance of individual will and inventiveness in energizing social forces."¹⁰

Also frequently cited as an illustration of the time lag between

⁹ Told dramatically in Chapter 8, "What One Man Can Do," in Stephen K. Bailey and Howard D. Samuel, *Congress at Work* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1952).

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

recognition of need and eventual legislation is the span from 1939 to 1950 during which no significant amendments were made to the Social Security Act. These were of course the war years, and the nation and its politicians were otherwise occupied. Then beginning in 1950 and in every two-year period from that point on, significant amendments have been made to the Social Security Act. Victory cannot be claimed by the fainthearted and the impatient, for the processes of extension and improvement of social legislation are complex and multifaceted.¹¹

Those who work for social legislation must discover, sometimes rather bitterly, that in the fine art of lobbying they may have to face even a compromise of a compromise in order that the most important end shall be achieved. The ideal will never be enacted into the law for the sound, philosophical reasons stated by T. V. Smith and long enunciated by Eduard Lindeman. In March of 1958 when the Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai B'rith—a staunch advocate of civil rights—gave the 1957 American Legacy Award to the 85th Congress for its enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1957, some of the perfectionists were critical. But it seems only reasonable to suggest that the League recognized that the enactment of a so-called "half-loaf" civil rights bill after eighty years of Democratic and Republican inaction was a demonstration of high political art.

A grand strategy may call for a nationwide program of health insurance which would meet the costs of medical care and induce an effective distribution of medical services. Yet a system of paying for medical care costs through the already established system of Old-age and Survivors and Disability Insurance may prove more practicable and possible, while within this framework provisions against the costs of hospitalization may prove the most practicable.

In early April of 1958 the House Ways and Means Committee held hearings on legislation to extend unemployment compensation benefits. Proposals were made by congressmen, the American

¹¹ Wilbur J. Cohen, "Factors Influencing the Content of Federal Public Welfare Legislation," in *The Social Welfare Forum, 1954* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954), pp. 199-215.

Public Welfare Association, and the National Association of Social Workers that whatever unemployment compensation measures were enacted be backstopped by a Federal program of general assistance. In the course of the hearings, lack of knowledge about general assistance, including a degree of opposition to such Federal aid, developed. At one point the question was raised by a member of the Ways and Means Committee about the possibility of amending Title IV of the Social Security Act—"Grants to the States for Aid to Dependent Children"—to provide for any needy child living with any relative, thus eliminating the requirement that the father must be dead, sick, or absent from home. There was quick response in the hearing that such a possibility deserved consideration. Obviously, not all the unemployed who are not covered by the unemployment compensation system would be included in Title IV, but at least those unemployed with children would benefit by such an amendment.

Many other illustrations could be given to show that a step forward, even though somewhat east and west of the lodestar north on the legislative compass, is better than no progress at all.

The vast number of agencies and associations concerned with a wide spectrum of social welfare activities present opportunities for significant coalitions for legislative ends even though their multiplicity poses difficult and often frustrating problems in coordinating services to people. Perhaps a thousand trade and professional associations have headquarters or representatives in Washington, and in varying degrees exercise their right under the First Amendment. A goodly number of these associations are concerned with some phases of health, education, and welfare. Rami-fying beyond these focal points are the state and local affiliates of these organizations with their coteries of auxiliaries and individual members.

Fascinating are the potentials for liaison among these groups which, if skillfully and constructively developed, can have, and have had on occasion, fruitful consequences for the public welfare. That the churches and scrap iron dealers may have common cause with respect to reciprocal trade may make little sense until it is realized that substantial export of scrap iron is an important

method for cutting down domestic surpluses and therefore keeping up the price.

Around the problems of children and the problems of the aged important partnerships in pursuit of legislation have been developed. The possibilities are good, for example, that groups concerned with services to the aging, who may have generally conservative economic and political viewpoints with respect to the responsibilities of government, can be rallied around the enlargement of governmental services to the aging including such a controversial issue as governmental provision of medical care to the aged.

A. David Bouterse correctly claims that if social work and social welfare can operate in close concert with organized labor, church groups, fraternal organizations, and civic associations, there is "every reason to believe that the results would be extraordinary."¹² Mr. Bouterse notes, however, that this kind of solid co-operative action will not occur unless the importance of securing such support is recognized early and significant leaders from the mass membership organizations included in the planning at the outset.

In many respects, the most difficult aspect of social action is to enlarge the committed beyond a limited nucleus of technically competent and dedicated individuals who are sincerely concerned lest their goals be diluted in order to achieve some kind of a lowest common denominator. Yet one of the best and shortest definitions of community organization was stated many years ago by Eduard C. Lindeman when he described community organization as a process through which democracy and specialism approximate working relationships.

The relatively minor contributions of social work and social welfare to the successful efforts in 1956 to provide disability insurance within the framework of the OASI program is not a creditable record whatever were the good reasons. We cannot afford continuing that sort of detachment with respect to the many

¹² A. David Bouterse, "Marshaling Public Support for Social Legislation," in *Proceedings of National Conference of Social Work* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), p. 156.

issues now before us which condition possibilities for healthy family life because they are controversial or have not been exhaustively examined. In discussing the responsibilities of a socially oriented profession Harry L. Lurie concludes his observations by stating:

We would be derelict, however, in our stewardship if we continued to overlook the nature of the social order, the matrix that conditions most of the problems we accept as our field of responsibility. If we fail it will mean not only that we shall have no important part in the social engineering of tomorrow's society; we shall not even contribute pertinent knowledge and experience which such engineers will be able to utilize.¹³

¹³ Harry L. Lurie, "The Responsibilities of a Socially Oriented Profession," in Cora Kasius, ed., *New Directions in Social Work* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954), p. 51.

The Eduard C. Lindeman Memorial Lectures

FOR THE FIFTH YEAR the National Conference on Social Welfare presented three lectures by social scientists at its Annual Forum. The basic purpose of these lectures has been to use the forum facilities of the Conference for the promotion of more effective collaboration between social work and the social sciences.

THE BRIDGE BETWEEN SOCIAL WORK AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

by *GRACE LONGWELL COYLE*

WE ARE LIVING IN A PERIOD OF RAPPROCHEMENT between the social sciences and social work. After an initial period of close intermingling at the end of the last century, these two streams of effort drew apart from each other as the differences in functions became clarified and the need for independent and different kinds of development became apparent. There followed for approximately the next thirty years a period of estrangement and mutual ignorance colored by no little distrust, not to say disgust. In the interval both had gone their separate ways. Social work had become a profession providing social services which required expert practitioners increasingly interested in fulfilling their functions in rational and effective ways. The social sciences, in the meantime, had proliferated into the now accepted fields of effort—soci-

ology, anthropology, social psychology, economics, and political science—and in these areas each had entered upon the arduous task of refining the necessary concepts for understanding its portion of the social reality, of developing a systematic theory and appropriate research techniques. The new approaches to measurement of social data had produced research tools and methods which were achieving an increasingly objective approach to the intricate problems of individual and societal behavior.

It is within the last ten years that the rapprochement between these two distinct and now more highly developed streams has really begun. It is not necessary here to prove the fact that this has happened. If evidence is required, we have only to look at the growing number of articles which try to clarify what their relation is or should be, the increasing inclusion of social science material in the professional education of social workers, and, most important of all, the collaborative projects in social work research which involve both social workers and social scientists.

At this stage what seems essential is to take the relationship for granted and to look more closely at the ways in which it can yield its most fruitful results to both parties. It is true that there is still much well-warranted skepticism. Somewhat to my surprise, however, several people have implied that now these attempts have become a kind of bandwagon. Certainly such an emotional overtone would be as unfortunate as the early attitudes of mutual ignorance and prejudice. Perhaps the best way to avoid either is to look carefully and critically at what we should like to see develop in the way of collaborative effort. We shall assume here that such a relationship will be of benefit to both and that what we need now is to point to limitations as well as to potentialities.

If a bridge is to be built between these two areas of effort, there are, I believe, two cables by which it could be suspended. The two chief ways in which social workers and social scientists come into contact at present are through the teaching in the professional schools and through research done either by social scientists or as a part of social work research under various auspices. Occasionally a sporadic contact occurs through an interdisciplinary seminar or a national meeting on the subject, but

for a steady and continuous interchange we must rely, I believe, mainly on these two means of cooperation.

From the point of view of the education of social workers there is considerable evidence that concepts and theories selected from a variety of the social sciences are being introduced into social work teaching.¹ Such introduction of social science content is both inevitable and desirable, although by no means easily accomplished. It arises out of the relation between the social sciences as the bodies of knowledge dealing with human life, individual and collective, and social work as a practice, the essence of which lies in the area of psychosocial adjustment. It is characteristic of all the highly developed professions and technologies that they are dependent upon, and derive their theories from, the corresponding basic sciences. What anatomy, biochemistry, and microbiology are to medical science, or physics and chemistry to engineering, the sciences dealing with human behavior are inevitably to social work. This is by no means to say that at present the social sciences either are equipped to fulfill this function adequately or that we know how to aid in developing the practice theory in social work through this process of deriving concepts and theories from them. It is, however, my hypothesis that this relationship is in the making and that however obscurely and ineffectively we now work at it, it is inevitable for the future. Such introduction of social science content has come about either through faculty members in the professional schools who have some background in one or another of the social sciences or, more recently, by the employment of social scientists as faculty members in a few schools.

The contribution of social science to social work by way of social work research is less direct. It is approximately ten years ago that those engaged in social work research began to distinguish their function and coordinate their efforts. Since that time this small group has grown into a section of the National Association of Social Workers, with five or six hundred members. In that

¹ For description of such introduction of social science material into social work teaching, see the author's *Social Science in the Professional Education of Social Workers* (New York: Council on Social Work Education, 1958).

period, too, there has begun to be a development of research agencies which gives promise of increasing significance. These include research institutes, such as those now established at the University of Chicago and the New York School of Social Work, and a slowly growing number of research bodies attached to social agencies or functioning independently. The results of these years of effort, as summarized by Ernest Greenwood, indicate its expansion and proliferation.² It is only as basic research into social work practice is extended, financed, appreciated, and used by practitioners that we will develop the tested body of knowledge we require.

Research has carried into social work certain contributions from the social sciences. Most of the methodology has been developed in the basic social sciences, although there is every likelihood that social work research will in time make its own contribution to research methods. Most research training has been taken in graduate social science departments. There is continuously going on, I believe, an importation of social science concepts and theories by social work researchers whose training inevitably produces this frame of reference. This is sometimes done consciously but frequently seems to occur by an inevitable process in which social work problems and theory are blended with the social science approach in social work research.

It has been said, I believe truly, that social work knowledge as it moves toward greater scope and validity must be a derived science—derived, that is, in part from those bodies of knowledge about individuals and society closely related to the social worker's function. This act of deriving seems to go on, as I have observed it, chiefly through these two channels—the teaching in the schools and the impact of social work research in both schools and agencies. If we are to examine the building of a bridge between social work and social science, we must look chiefly at these two means of contact. My approach is necessarily that of a teacher. This has, of course, its limitations, but I can only hope that the ivory tower of academic seclusion is in this case not solid ivory and that its

² Ernest Greenwood, "Social Work Research: a Decade of Reappraisal," *Social Service Review*, XXXI (1957), 311-20.

foundations rest upon the needs and responsibilities of professional practice.

I shall present four aspects of our present situation in which this relation between social work and the social sciences can be observed. In some cases the rapprochement has already had noticeable results; in others it is only a dimly perceived possibility. In each of these areas further development would be advantageous to social work and to social science as well.

The first aspect might be called, as it has been in a valuable new book, "social perspectives on behavior."³ In the thinking of social workers and in professional education there has been developing a recognition that there needs to be added to our knowledge of the individual drawn from personality theory supplementary theory as to the way in which personality is affected by the social situation in which the individual functions. In one sense, social workers never lost sight of the fact that the client was always a person in a social situation. However, what happened with the absorption of psychiatric personality theory is that our understanding of the intrapsychic aspects of behavior and its pathologies expanded greatly in a relatively short period of time. It is without doubt the increased depth which came from our assimilation of basic theory which accounts for the relatively high development of casework expertness. We now seem to be at a place where basic personality theory is being to some extent modified by the impact of concepts and theories originating in the social sciences. As Gordon Hamilton has said: "If we are to develop, now and in the future, our characteristic method in psychosocial study, diagnosis, and treatment, knowledge of group and cultural patterns must match our not inconsiderable knowledge of internal personality organization."⁴ We have, I believe, begun on this process of matching, and I shall suggest several evidences of how this is taking place and what results for practice are beginning to appear.

I believe that an understanding of certain social variables is

³ Herman D. Stein and Richard A. Cloward, *Social Perspectives on Behavior* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958).

⁴ *Ibid.*, Foreword, p. xiii.

being assimilated into our theory of personality. This assimilation elaborates our understanding of personality theory by finer discriminations as to the behavior of individuals influenced by the impact of their social setting. This can lead to more accurate diagnosis of the causal factors in behavior and more successful prediction as to the results of proposed treatment.

The first and still the most pervasive of such concepts to make its way into social work thinking is that of culture. I am assuming here that we mean by "culture" that pattern of beliefs, ideas, and aesthetic and moral values which gives meaning to life and directs behavior. Our use of this concept seems typical of those which we are using to match our psychological with our social understanding. It is as if we had a coin, the two sides of which have words in different languages. On one side, intrapsychic behavior is readable in so far as we have grasped what we can get from personality theory. The other side, the situation, requires us to learn the language by which its social face, as it were, becomes understandable. These two sides are equally the reality with which we must deal. The culture concept has been one of the easiest to make use of as we undertook the intricate problem of adding the understanding of social variables to our not inconsiderable knowledge of internal personality organization.

Another effect of the use of the concept of culture has been to enhance self-awareness. We saw that not only the client's values and behavior pattern were in part culturally produced. We became aware that the same was true of ourselves. This is, in some ways, as disturbing a discovery for the student, I find, as some of those he makes from applying psychoanalytical concepts to himself. One of the results has been to decrease the assurance of what is right or natural. This acceptance of a relativistic approach is in many ways highly desirable and induces a more discerning insight into one's own as well as into the client's behavior.

A second type of contribution which is coming into social work thinking from the social sciences consists of a more accurate knowledge about the people with whom we deal. This substantive knowledge has many aspects, but I shall select as illustrative only one, namely, the material on the family as a social institution.

The family, obviously, is the focal point of a large proportion of social work practice. It has also been for years an active concern of sociologists. It is not surprising that social science knowledge about the family should be one of the significant areas of overlap. This is not to say that such contributions from the social scientists have always won ready acceptance or that they are or should be accepted uncritically. It seems to me, however, that increasingly both in teaching and in practice there is a certain assimilation of both concepts about the nature and structure of different types of families and the use of research products which give us an understanding of what we are dealing with in our practice. These include material on the different family structures found in various socioeconomic groupings and in ethnic groups, including such matters as typical role patterns between man and wife, parents and children, between a family and its kin among the older generation and collateral relatives. Along with this has come more knowledge of the child-rearing patterns of different types of family, the differing age and sex roles involved with their varying norms, and behavior regarded as deviations. We know more than formerly about attitudes toward illness and the responsibilities assumed by families in various subcultures. We understand something more of antisocial gang behavior as it is affected by lower-class matriarchal families.⁵ These are only a few of the areas in which our approach to family life is being enriched by the addition of social perspectives available from sociological studies.

What happens as we assimilate such material into our thinking about individual behavior is that we acquire inevitably certain new tools of thought. Such concepts as culture and the institutional approach to the family sensitize us to new parts of the reality and, as we grasp their use in theories, give us more ordered and systematic ways of observing behavior. Just at the moment we seem to be struggling with the concept of role. It is, I believe, one of the most useful in providing the linkage between the intra-

⁵ John H. Rohrer, "Sociocultural Factors in Personality Development," in *The Social Welfare Forum, 1957* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957), pp. 193-212.

psychic and the social aspects of behavior. We can only use it, however, as we are willing to understand it in its more highly developed forms through the theories and research now available in the social sciences.

If we are, in fact, moving toward matching our understanding of internal behavior with a more developed theoretical understanding of the social impacts on the individual, it will of course in time bear fruit in a somewhat different practice. We seem to be in an early stage of any such change.

As we assimilate and try out such concepts and theories, we must move on to a further differential diagnosis which includes the social factors. We will not know the value of such assimilation until we eventually have social work research that can test by the use of both psychological and social theory the practice which emerges from such thinking. It may very well seem that to this point I have implied that progress in this direction—if one regards it as progress—has come about with ease and mutual acceptance. This has by no means been the case, and I shall point out some of the obstacles which have made even this progress difficult.

One of the greatest blocks to collaboration between social workers and social scientists is the form in which social science presents itself. Like all science, it consists of abstract generalizations, often couched in unfamiliar terminology. The social worker asks for a concrete answer to a particular problem. The social scientist replies with an abstraction. Borrowing from another practice, whether it be psychiatry or education, has proved to be much easier because its contributions present themselves, at least in part, in the same terms. The generalized theory comes already mixed for application. The deductions from generalizations have been made, although for the somewhat different functions of another profession. Social scientists are in many cases not equipped to deduce from a generalization to the kind of specifics we present in individual behavior and, I believe, should not be encouraged to do so in relation to a function of which they know little. We should recognize this problem as one instance of the many to be found in interdisciplinary relations. Probably the only way to tackle it is through collaborative research in which the concrete

problems of practice are discovered and analyzed by social workers with an ability to generalize and then worked on jointly with those social scientists who have an ability to deduce from the general to the specific. Our chief hope for productive collaboration lies in such research and the results it will yield, not only in substantive knowledge about social work but in the experience of learning to think together.

Another of the most serious obstacles lies in the lack of integration in the social sciences themselves between personality theory and various kinds of social theory. This often means, to social workers, that a social theory or a piece of social science research is based upon either an ignorance of personality theory or upon an implicit, unverified set of assumptions on personality where adequate theory is required. Also, the fact that many social scientists are not fully informed on the particular personality theories we know best no doubt further emphasizes this lack for us. It is now evident that this need for integration is recognized by many social scientists and that a considerable number of social studies have actually combined both sets of theories. As is usual in science, the areas where fields overlap often prove to be the most exciting and the most fruitful for the innovating mind. If this tendency expands, it seems likely that more useful material involving both personality and social theory will be produced.

We have been so accustomed to focus on the individual client and the services provided by the social worker that it has hampered the development of other aspects of our practice. It is not only the group worker who has to learn to deal with groups as such as well as with individuals in groups. At the level of direct service by caseworkers, there is an increasing use of groups in hospitals and clinics, in parent education, and through the approach to the family as a group. It is true, in a different sense, of administrators and community organization workers whose practice consists of organizing and working with a great variety of face-to-face groups—boards, committees, staff, representative bodies, and in-service training groups. Institutions of all kinds, as a study of a mental hospital reveals,⁶ can only be understood if

⁶ Alfred H. Stanton, M.D., and Morris S. Schwartz, *The Mental Hospital* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1954).

they can be analyzed in terms of group interaction among their inhabitants, both patients and staff, and as intergroup phenomena as well. The community organizer's practice involves him not only in group and intergroup relations but also in the necessity to understand the community as such. It would appear at this point in our history unnecessary to belabor this point. It has, however, a special significance if we are looking at the relation of social work to social science.

It is my conviction that we shall only develop and refine our methods in these areas as we increasingly bring to bear upon them whatever theoretical knowledge is available from those sciences whose subject matter is the behavior of social entities as such. This means chiefly our use of sociology and social psychology as basic to these areas of practice in the same way that personality theory functions in the social worker's relation to the individual in either casework or group work. If we are to tackle this fully and freely, we need to get away from the concept of "client." The term has been adopted, I believe, because it has a certain prestige among us and the relationship to clients is both established and reputable. As a figure of speech it has its dangers. Such groups and communities as those mentioned above are not, in fact, clients in any accurate sense of the word, and only as we can look clearly at them and our relation to them can we begin to develop a tenable theory of practice. Here, as elsewhere, we shall only know how to diagnose and plan as we have absorbed available concepts and theories from the social sciences.

To some extent this has been done, and the attempt is being constantly expanded. It was inevitable that as group work developed, its teachers and practitioners should feel the need of some conceptual framework to describe the group, some theory by which to understand its behavior and to predict its reaction to the functioning of the worker. At the period of its origin, thirty years ago, practically no such theory existed among the social scientists. At present, with the small group receiving a large share of attention both from sociologists and from social psychologists, our problem is rather the difficulty of keeping up with the extensive and expanding theory and of evaluating and selecting the material relevant to social work practice. In the fact that at

least ten schools⁷ are offering courses in the group process for all students there is some evidence of increasing recognition that the understanding of groups and the ability to deal with them in a variety of professional roles is an essential part of the social worker's skills and one in which he needs, as elsewhere, a foundation in basic knowledge.

To a considerable extent also there is increased familiarity among community organization workers of the concepts of ecology, physical and social mobility, social stratification, the subcultures of socioeconomic and ethnic groupings, and the existence and functioning of the power structure of the community. The literature, such as Murray Ross's book on community organization,⁸ is symptomatic of the absorption into social work thinking of social science concepts required for understanding the dynamics of the community.

Viewed from the angle of a teacher, it seems evident that we can point to a definite trend in social work education. Within the last ten years there has been an increased tendency to recognize the relationship to social entities—groups and communities—as an essential part of practice, to create a conceptual framework for understanding them, and to turn to social science for the provision of concepts and theories essential to such understanding. In the development of the theory of practice our progress to date is still rudimentary, but I believe we have taken the first steps from the educational end. As to the observable effect on practice, which is of course the crucial point, I have no basis for evaluation except from limited experience in one community. From that experience I would say that certain developments among practitioners are evident in the diagnosis of problems such as, for example, those found in work with antisocial youth groups or with neighborhoods changing rapidly because of migration from rural areas. A clearer and more discriminating diagnosis is now possible, and the attempts to plan treatment rest upon a study of the interaction between group behavior and community change. It is obvious that we are, at any rate, seeing deeper into the

⁷ See Coyle, *op. cit.*, Appendix B, pp. 62-63.

⁸ Murray G. Ross, *Community Organization: Theory and Principles* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955).

social reality. Again we must wait upon social work research before results can be tested and reliable practice evolved.

Some of the obstacles met in this part of social work practice are thrown up by social workers. Among social workers there has often been a kind of blindness to concepts dealing with social entities as such. I frequently experienced this as a group worker in trying to interpret group work to caseworkers. Their first reaction often was, "Well, after all, there is nothing there but individuals." The implication clearly was that all I needed was to know more about personality theory. This I could easily admit but I could not stop at that. A next step was achieved when, in a friendly attempt to integrate our thinking, a colleague would say, "Oh, I see what you mean. You're talking about the group ego and superego." Since this was certainly not what I meant, our communication ended in mutual frustration. The fitting of the mind to a new set of concepts is, as we know in relation to personality theory, often a painful process. To achieve the new perceptions, to grasp the new relations, to follow the logic of a new type of interactions—these all require both a willingness to learn and a capacity to use, as it were, a new set of lenses. Only then do the theories about society and its parts make sense. This is complicated for the social worker by the fact that he must, in many situations, use both sets of insights simultaneously, both his theory of personality and his theory of community behavior. Where the caseworker uses his understanding of the impact of culture, for example, to supplement his personality theory, the community organizer or administrator supplements his understanding of group or community by his understanding of the individual behavior of a committee chairman or a local politician. The focus of effort, however, is quite different, and the role of the worker is necessarily determined by that fact.

Some difficulties arise out of the present stage of the social sciences. The sciences dealing with small groups and communities are still in a state of fragmentation. Certain aspects are more fully developed than others; various theorists and research workers are pursuing one or another phase of a problem unrelated to events elsewhere in their own field. The more intricate and highly organized the research, the more it seems at points to deal with

minute and relatively unimportant pieces of reality and, frequently, those unrelated to the concrete problems which confront the social worker. The attempts at working out an integrated theory or, at even higher level a theory of theories, soon reach a stratosphere of abstraction with which the social worker and, in many cases, the social work teacher lose contact. Such difficulties may be inherent in the present stage of growth of the social sciences.

One further problem occasionally intrudes itself into attempts at collaboration. Where schools of thought appear at the pure science level, they inevitably produce a similar phenomenon among the practitioners who use the science as their basis. A school of thought is itself a group phenomenon. It is characterized by an originator who develops a further advance or a different line of theory. He gathers adherents who not only accept the theory but become his followers and often "true believers." In-groups and outgroups, orthodoxy and heresy, make their appearance. It may well be that without such emotional accompaniments certain new ideas would never come to birth, but it seems also true that objectivity and receptivity to new ideas are bound to suffer. We have already some experience with the results reflected in practice from schools of thought in personality theory. In recent years we have seen a similar phenomenon arising out of the so-called "group dynamics." It seems unlikely, since scientists are also human beings, that this tendency can be altogether controlled. It would appear, however, that if we in social work understood the nature of the emotional and social processes involved, we could temper our responses by adding a further insight into our own behavior.

There is still another relation between social science and social work which seems to be important for the future although we have few examples at present. Gunnar Myrdal, in a penetrating analysis of the changing relation between social policy and social theory, has pointed out certain trends which are of major significance to social welfare and to social workers.⁹ We are living in an

⁹ Gunnar Myrdal, *Value in Social Theory* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), pp. 1-54.

age when almost in spite of itself our society is forced to engage in various types of social planning. Certainly in the Western world, and especially in the United States, this tendency has no basis in an ideological formula. In fact, it runs counter to deep-rooted American traditions relating to *laissez faire*, free enterprise, and individual initiative. A fundamental change, however, is going on in our society itself. This has been produced, as Myrdal points out, by an increasing volume of state intervention in various aspects of our social life. Significant social units, such as big businesses, are recognized by their managers as involving more than buying and selling. Moreover, large units of industries, farmers, workers, and consumers have taken over many social functions. The enlarging mesh of uncoordinated public interventions, called forth by the special interest groups and arising out of crises precipitated by technological change and often hastened by war, has called for more coordination and central planning. As a result, even in the United States, and in spite of our traditional objections, public policy is constantly being formulated which creates a more closely integrated state. We have a fine illustration of this fact if we look at current Congressional debates in which it is obvious that coordination needs to be achieved among fiscal policy, agricultural production, foreign trade, and unemployment compensation provisions.

The possibilities of such coordinated planning have been even more vividly illustrated by the report on "The Challenge to America: Its Economic and Social Aspects"¹⁰ prepared by a panel of experts under the auspices of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. This remarkable document not only proposes measures to relate economic growth to tax policies, unemployment compensation, and public works. It relates our economy to international relations. It deals with private and public welfare services, with the minimum wage, with the need for medical facilities and the methods of paying for medical care. It touches upon the special problems of low-income and minority groups. It treats of educational needs, including the need for training more social workers and

¹⁰ See text of summary of Report on American Economy by Rockefeller Brothers Fund, *New York Times*, April 21, 1958, pp. 16-17.

counselors. What makes this document the more remarkable is that not only does it relate in scope economic and social issues of great complexity, but it states the social goals of our society in terms of the spiritual values of our American democratic heritage and then relates these to practical means of attainment. It is, I believe, a highly significant illustration of the inevitable need for coordinated planning to which Gunnar Myrdal has pointed.

Within a generation our society has grown steadily, though not by conscious purpose, toward an integration which requires social policy. When we consider the scope and variety of the social welfare services and the increasing proportion of such services under governmental auspices, it must certainly be obvious to social workers that this fundamental change in society itself is one which profoundly affects the functions of social agencies and the skills required of social workers, especially at the administrative and planning level.

A second trend pointed out by Gunnar Myrdal makes his observations relevant here. Accompanying this change toward fundamental social planning has come an increased use of social scientists in the making and execution of public policy. This has shown itself in the employment of economists in relation to government policy and by large banks and industries, the employment of psychologists both by business and government, the use of sociologists and anthropologists in technical assistance programs and in dealing with defeated countries after the Second World War. Further use of teams of social scientists to deal with situations of international tension has been proposed in various parts of the United Nations programs. The first attempts to produce a useful social technology by the employment of social scientists has by no means proved to be an unqualified success. It seems true, however, that we have here a trend which is likely to be of major importance to social science within the next generation. It will not be surprising if such efforts move slowly and with difficulty. The attempt at planned social change inevitably plunges into the area of conflicting interests. Moreover, it raises for social scientists problems of techniques, and eventually of ethics, which academic social science never confronted and which are now only

beginning to be recognized by the social scientists involved. Such trends, however, have evolved sufficiently to raise the question of their possible relation to the social planning and policy-making required for the social services.

There are two points at which such developments seem to me to be of special significance for the practice of social work. One of these deals with the policy-making required for the public services at every level. The other lies in the policy-making within a local community in which public and private services must be planned in relation to each other and to other types of community planning, such as public housing and urban renewal. In both cases planning should be based on knowledge of such matters as population trends and ecology, mobility, intergroup relations, class and ethnic composition, political control, and cultural values. Social planning of these kinds must rest upon a social prognosis to which several of the social sciences contribute. In the area of social action by social workers through the public policy statements of the National Association of Social Workers, we have the same need for coordinated social planning. What we have now presents us with valuable but isolated planks in a platform. What we need, in addition, is a conception of integrated social planning which links our concern for migratory workers, for example, with our policy on education, or our policy on social insurance and public assistance with our policy on public housing. We need to conceive of policies more consistently in terms of the interaction of social factors. We have often seen that policies we have advocated lead to unexpected results because of such interaction—what Robert Merton calls their latent functions.¹¹ This, too, points to the need for more study of social welfare policy-making based upon a deeper understanding of the interaction between social, economic, and political factors.

It may seem unrealistic to suggest that any such development either among social scientists or between scientists and social workers can be undertaken today. True, we have already some members of the social work profession who contribute to public

¹¹ Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949), pp. 61-64.

welfare policy-making from a background of economics, political science, and law. Here and there are instances where a program of services is worked out in part on the basis of a social science study of the class culture in which they are offered.¹² These are as yet only occasional instances of what might become a more extensive and more highly skilled part of regular professional functioning. It would, I assume, require of social workers a different type of training and experience in which major content would be not individual behavior but social trends and mass phenomena and in which the skills demanded are those of the public health officer or the social statesman. In spite of the present rudimentary state of this kind of social technology in our society, I am convinced that it is very much needed in the social welfare field and that it might well prove in future a productive area of collaborative effort between social workers and social scientists.

Let us turn to another span of our bridge—the potential relation between the social sciences and the professional philosophy of social work. By the “philosophy” of the profession I mean the aims and the ethics which guide our practice with individuals, groups, and communities and in the making of social policy. Every profession necessarily has such a value system, and it is a characteristic of the professions as social institutions that society assumes the right to sanction such ethical creations. The body of values held by any profession consists of its obvious immediate goals, such as the cure of disease or the education of the young, and the ethical codes it has developed as to the methods it uses in fulfilling its aims.¹³

As MacIver pointed out years ago, “there is nothing so unscrupulous as an ideal which is undisciplined by science.”¹⁴ However, we need to understand in what ways the discipline of science can be of help to us. It is the claim and purpose of science to be value-free, that is, to concern itself with what is and not what

¹² See, for example, Walter B. Miller, “The Impact of a Community Group Work Program on Delinquent Corner Groups,” *Social Service Review*, XXXI (1957), 390–406.

¹³ See Emile Durkheim, *Professional Ethics and Civic Morals* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958).

¹⁴ Robert MacIver, *The Contribution of Sociology to Social Work* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1931), p. 3.

ought to be. Only the value attached to freedom of thought to pursue the search for truth wherever it may lead is the universal value of all scientists. Within the social sciences this is obviously much more difficult to attain. Not only is the subject matter—human beings and society—constantly infused with value elements, but the instrument of observation and analysis, the scientist himself, is conditioned by the values of his society. For more than a century social scientists have been struggling to see that values are eliminated from analysis. In sociology and anthropology the issue has been tackled in part by the attempt to analyze value-oriented behavior as such and the value systems of individuals, groups, and cultures. There remain, however, many unanswered questions as to whether social science is or perhaps ever can be actually value-free, whether the distinction between is and ought, between facts and values, can be drawn so sharply as had been claimed. While the more obvious distinctions can be made, there will still be the more subtle difficulties by which implicit values enter into social analysis. We can clarify for ourselves the distinctions between the aims and values involved in policy and prognosis, which is a forecast of the probable or possible course of events.¹⁵ There remain, however, questions as to the selection of matters for analysis, the assumptions about what ought to be admitted as good evidence, and other implicit values of the scientist which unconsciously influence his hypotheses. One illustration of this difficulty is the familiar and often useful idea of means and ends in which values are strictly relegated to the ends part of the problem. If we look more closely at the social reality, the selection of means involves also choices infused with value.¹⁶ These knotty problems are primarily the concern of the social scientist. In so far, however, as we use the theories of social scientists or their research products, it behooves us not to accept too easily the claim that their knowledge is value-free and so gives us an entirely objective and unbiased view of the social reality.

What, then, is or can be the relation between the knowledge of

¹⁵ Paul Streetin in *Value in Social Theory*, by Gunnar Myrdal. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), pp. xiv-xlv.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. xxi-xxv.

the social scientist and the necessary development of professional aims, including policies and professional ethics?

There are two places where our interests obviously overlap. The study of value-oriented behavior in individuals, its origins, its content, and its effects, is obviously of prime importance. The analysis of the value systems of groups and communities and the value issues involved in social policies have a direct bearing on our practice. The recent interest of social scientists in the professions has yielded illuminating insight into the paradox of the altruism often claimed for the professions, including our own, and our experience with the actual behavior of ourselves and other professional workers.¹⁷ Greenwood has suggested that one of the needed areas for social work research is a study of social philosophy and social work culture. Such research should illuminate for us "the value bases of social work, its latent and manifest functions, the moral justifications for its control features, its goals and the premises underlying them, and the normative effects of its premises upon social work practices."¹⁸ This would be very useful in providing a deeper understanding of our present rather fragmentary and still largely implicit set of professional values.

However, such understanding is only preliminary to the real issues. To understand *about* values, our own or other people's, is by no means the same as to achieve and internalize for ourselves or as a profession the guiding principles and the controlling ethics we require. In fact, the first impact of an objective approach to the examination of values seems at times to throw some people into such a relativistic confusion that they hesitate to develop any well-founded convictions. It is here that some will escape into a mistaken use of the concept of being nonjudgmental or, in relation to groups, will confuse anarchy with democracy in order to avoid undue imposition by the worker. It has been long recognized that those who eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge are thereafter confronted with new problems regarding good and evil. In our terms, it becomes increasingly true that the more we under-

¹⁷ Talcott Parsons, "The Professions and Social Structure," in *Essays in Sociological Theory* (rev. ed.; Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954), pp. 34-49.

¹⁸ Greenwood, *loc. cit.*

stand of human behavior, the more possible it becomes to control it; in the worst sense of the term, to manipulate it. This realization has made us at times refuse to face our inevitable responsibility. We shy away from the fact that we must have goals relating both to individuals and to society. We take refuge in neutral terms like "adjustment" or "maturity" or "need" which enable us to leave many goals safely implicit. In dealing with groups and communities we emphasize self-determination and participation without admitting that we are cherishing and, in fact, promoting programs inevitably expressing the social welfare aims of the profession.

This issue of the use to which social science knowledge has been and can be put has been made vivid for us by currently popular symbols. The "organization man"¹⁹ and his wife, bereft of "inner direction" and obediently conforming to the "outer direction" of his group,²⁰ fill our suburban trains and churches and sit on social agency boards. In fact, he—or she—may have come on the board as a part of company policy or perhaps in search of that specious "togetherness" so well advertised these days. Our television screens manipulate us unconsciously (or so we are told) as we cure the recession by responding to campaigns which tell us we "auto buy now." The increased sophistication of the public may well set up its own antibodies to such appeals, but the issue of the possible misuse of social science knowledge will still remain.

More seriously, however, the fact is that we cannot escape the necessity for looking more clearly and consistently at our professional aims. This is true in every aspect of practice, our relation to the individual client, the responsibilities of leadership in groups and agencies, the functions of the community organization worker, the welfare goals of the policy consultant.

Social work practice has achieved some clarity as to the responsible use of the relationship between worker and client, the dangers of dependency or control, the necessity for confidentiality, the basic respect due to each client as a person. The ethics in-

¹⁹ William H. Whyte, Jr., *The Organization Man* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1956).

²⁰ David Riesman, Nathan Glazer, and Reuel Denney, *The Lonely Crowd* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950).

volved in our relation to groups are more complicated. We are challenged these days in several directions. In a period in which the demands for political and social conformity represent a real menace to freedom of thought and speech, it is said that groups tend to create the conforming personality and that the stress on adjustment to group pressures leads to a mindless mediocrity without desire or capacity for innovation. From other sources comes evidence that manipulation by those who know how to pull the social strings is being used not only to increase the productivity of workers but to engulf the personal and social life of all employees, including management itself, in the interest of accumulation of social power. Furthermore, there is emphasis in some quarters on the need for the unplanned, the spontaneous, and the solitary aspects of life if we are to keep a personal balance and maintain our democratic heritage of personal liberty and initiative. All of this has a direct bearing on the ethical practices of the social worker when he works with groups and communities. We cannot return to the state of innocence in which we could act naïvely in these relationships. We must rather push our thinking further until we have learned how to ensure that our dealings with groups and communities are based on *shared* purposes. We must function with an integrity which does not refuse the responsibility of authority where it is required but exercises it in the interests of the full development of each individual and the expansion of democratic functioning. The better we understand behavior, the better our tools. The better our tools, the more responsible we become for our use of them. We must be guided by an adequate philosophy which deals with both the individual and society and a professional ethics in which human relations are treated with integrity in the interest of a constantly enhanced human life. We have still before us, I believe, the task of defining more fully and concretely the ethical questions of our relations to groups and communities and our functions as social planners and policy-makers.

It is conceivable that, in terms of total contribution to society, the philosophy of the profession may prove as significant as its direct services. Professions, by their nature, are, Durkheim has

pointed out, "centers of moral life."²¹ Next to the family they are, he estimates, the most important means by which values are evolved in any society. In relation to the particular problems which give rise to their functions, whether in health, law, education, or social work, the working out of professional goals and that analysis of means we call "professional ethics" develop systems of values which affect the surrounding society.²² It is obvious that social work goals as we establish them more explicitly and more consistently will have pertinence for the preservation of individual freedom, the encouragement of individual growth, the modifying of social institutions and conditions. I am inevitably reminded here of Eduard Lindeman's contribution to our professional philosophy in what he defined as a humanitarian faith.²³ We recognize that science holds the promise, as he pointed out, that a humanitarian world is feasible. As the subject of science extends from the physical to the social, the possibility should become more likely. He recognized—as we do all too clearly today—that the human enterprise may culminate in ultimate defeat, brought on even more completely by the products of scientific achievement. The avoidance of disaster and the fulfilling of the fair promises which science offers can come only through an active humanitarian faith which will lead to action. Social work practice and its social policies may well be one of those "centers of moral power" which our society needs in these perilous days. Whether this is fantasy or reality depends upon what we make of social work as it is practiced.

I have dealt largely with the process of building this bridge as it appears to one who has worked at it from the social work end. One sometimes feels that such a bridge is forever doomed to incompleteness and that we shall remain gazing at each other across an unbridgable chasm. This pessimism may be due to the clear differences in function between a practice and a science, to the differences in language in which we shout at each other across the

²¹ Durkheim, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ Eduard C. Lindeman, "Science and Philosophy: Sources of Humanitarian Faith," in *Social Work as Human Relations* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), pp. 207-21.

gulf, or to a long-established and deep-rooted mistrust. Henry Maas has reported on the disjointedness of which he has been conscious in efforts at collaboration:

The essence of these experiences seems to be that so long as one is primarily and unquestioningly interested in attempts at directly helping others, one is welcomed by one's colleagues in social work and treated somewhat condescendingly by one's peers in the social sciences. As soon as one begins to inquire about practice and seek generalizations underlying human processes, the discovery and communication of which should facilitate practice, one is perforce excluded from social work circles and subsequently considered an apostate.²⁴

This is a familiar experience, I suspect, to any of us who have attempted from one end or another to bridge the gulf. Certainly we will never be able to do it until we can from both sides transform such attitudes and the mistrust which generates them.

From the social work end of this bridge, what have we which might prove useful to the future development of social science? It has been suggested²⁵ that there are primarily three ways in which this might come about: the accessibility of certain kinds of data of interest to social scientists which social work practice might provide; the testing of hypotheses concerning the social phenomena with which social workers deal; and, finally, the pointing out of new areas in which the results of further inquiry are needed and would be used either in direct practice or in policy-making.

It is obvious that such collaboration will in many instances be obstructed by the differences in function, by problems of communication, and by difficulties in the research involved. My own inclination is to believe that contributions to social science are likely to come about as by-products of situations in either teaching or research where social scientists become actually knowledgeable about, and accepting of, social work practice and social welfare functions and where social workers come to understand the functions and culture of the scientist and at least a minimum of

²⁴ Henry Maas, "Collaboration between Social Work and the Social Sciences," *Social Work Journal*, XXXI (1950), 104-5.

²⁵ Olive Stone, "What Can Social Casework Contribute to the Social Sciences?" *American Sociological Review*, XV (1950), 66-73.

the substantive knowledge he has to contribute. Out of such collaboration in teaching and research there might arise new problems to be investigated by the basic scientists themselves. No such bridge as we have been considering can be built out of good intentions or a vague mutual good will. Its foundation must rest upon the solid ground of common effort. Although projects involving such collaboration are still few and relatively slight, they seem to be on the increase. It is from those engaged in these projects in teaching and research that we should hope to find the solid achievements upon which we can build as time goes on.

NEOMARITAL PROGRAMS

by JESSIE BERNARD

IN DEALING WITH SOCIAL PROBLEMS we may break into a vicious circle at any one or more of several points. In the case of family instability this is especially true. Since we know that success in marriage is related to success of the parents' marriage and that divorce tends to "run in families," a logical, if not always feasible, place to attack marital instability would be in the parental family. (Oliver Wendell Holmes is reported to have said that if one wished to live a long time he should select long-lived grandparents; similarly, if one wishes to be successfully married he should select parents who are themselves successfully married.) Equally logical would be an attack at the point of mate selection; and certainly a great deal could be done with just what we now have available in the way of research findings and predictive instruments. This discussion will emphasize, in addition, an attack on the problem at a point in time for which the term "neomarital" is suggested.

The neomarital period is unique, critical, and perhaps the

most reachable moment in the life history of a marriage. It is unique not only in the life history of any particular marriage but also in the history of marriage itself. In its present form it is a product of relatively recent times. As a result of improved nutrition and medical care a veritable demographic revolution has taken place. Young people mature earlier than formerly; they are ready for dating at a younger age; and they are marrying earlier than in the past. The number of years—some eight to ten on the average—between physical maturity and marriage has probably not changed in the last half century; but the role and status of young people during these years have. Half a century ago young people left school at fourteen and spent the years until marriage in work and in family roles that prepared them for adult responsibilities. Today young people tend to remain in school until they are eighteen; they have the status of children until just a few years before their marriage at the age of twenty or so. Early marriage as we know it today, therefore, reflects a changing conception of the nature of marriage; the early years of such marriages represent a new phenomenon in the history of marriage in Western society.

The neomarital period is critical in the sense that it demands an abrupt repatterning of functioning, a repatterning as abrupt and as critical as that which marks the transition to extrauterine life for the neonatus. This is especially dramatic in the area of sex, but it is no less important in other areas of adjustment. Not only must new patterns be evolved, but old ones must be sloughed off as well. To reach a marriage before destructive patterns of relationship have had a chance to harden would seem to require an approach at this critical moment.

Finally, this period is probably the most teachable one in the life history of a marriage. It is true that what the sociologists call "anticipatory socialization" is an important factor in development. It is on such a theoretical substructure that much education is based. It is also true, however, that a backlog of relevant experience can facilitate learning, so that premarital counseling can be a valuable learning experience. But it is not nearly enough. In emphasizing an attack on the problem of marital instability at

the neomarital point of development the present proposal in no way seeks to minimize the importance of other points of attack, before or after marriage. It is suggested as a supplement to, rather than as a substitute for, other approaches.

The epidemiological approach is concerned with the incidence and the prevalence of disorders. Behavioral disorders (psychosomatic and psychiatric illnesses) constitute one of six general categories of epidemiological studies.¹ It is just a stone's throw from studies of behavioral disorders to a seventh category which might be labeled "studies of relational or role disorders." Indeed, many relational or role disorders are aspects or symptoms of behavioral disorders.²

With respect to the spatial or ecological incidence of disorders, students of public health and sociologists find a common approach. Both can plot on a map the concentration and/or spread of the phenomena they are concerned with. In addition, however, the epidemiological approach is coming to include the incidence and prevalence of disorders in the social as well as in the physical structure of the community. The work of Hollingshead and Redlich is notable in this connection.³

Social workers have found that the relational disorders tend to be concentrated in a small segment of the population. They even use the term "sources of infection" to refer to such pools of relational disorder. And some psychiatrists are coming to view unhappy marriages as illnesses.⁴ Any study which seeks to determine the spatial, class, age, educational, ethnic, or racial incidence and/or

¹ The other five are: (1) classic pathogenic studies; (2) studies of nutritional diseases; (3) studies of hereditary diseases; (4) studies of degenerative diseases; and (5) studies of physical handicaps.

² This is the point of view presented in my book *Social Problems at Midcentury: Role, Status, and Stress in a Context of Abundance* (New York: Dryden Press, 1957), Part IV.

³ August B. Hollingshead and Frederick C. Redlich, *Social Class and Mental Illness* (New York: John Wiley, 1958).

⁴ Marcel Heiman, M.D., "The Problem of Family Diagnosis," in Victor W. Eisenstein, M.D., ed., *Neurotic Interaction in Marriage* (New York: Basic Books, 1956), p. 222. See also Dr. Lawrence S. Kubie's reference to intrinsically sick marriages in "Psychoanalysis and Marriage: Practical and Theoretical Issues," *ibid.*, p. 14. In a television program on March 5, 1958, a judge of the Superior Court of Los Angeles referred to divorce as a disease, as "catching," and to its increase as an "epidemic."

prevalence of a disorder—behavioral or relational—may be viewed as epidemiological if, in addition, it is oriented toward prevention.

It is because the program here proposed is based on our statistical knowledge of the incidence of marital instability rather than on our ability to predict marital instability case by case that it is labeled "epidemiological." It is not based on the prevalence of marital instability at any particular time, for it is aimed at prevention rather than salvage.

The term "marital instability" covers a wide variety of phenomena which differ in origin, cause, and "course." No single preventive program, therefore, can be applied to all. At least three manifestations, each with subcategories, may be distinguished, namely, divorce; separation; desertion and/or nonsupport.

Divorce.—Not even all divorces are the same in origin, cause, or "course." It is therefore misleading to speak of divorce as constituting a single, unitary, homogeneous phenomenon susceptible to a single explanation or responsive to a single type of preventive treatment. No less than four kinds of divorce may be distinguished at a minimum.

There is, first, the divorce that results from some defect of personality in one or both of the partners. This is the type that the "divorce-won't-help" school of thought has in mind. The evidence that some divorced persons do have defects that prevent marital stability is twofold. Those who are in the divorced status at any one time tend to show a high prevalence of such pathologies as mental illness, reduced longevity, suicide, and related disorders. A second line of evidence derives from divorced persons who remarry. They have a higher divorce rate than do other persons, and there is some evidence that remarriages in which there is a divorced person—especially a divorced woman—are judged to be less successful than other remarriages. The precise nature of the defect of personality which renders people unable to sustain a stable marriage is by no means clear. It may range from a true psychopathic personality to a mild disorder susceptible to fairly simple therapy. Divorces which remove such persons from a

family often have a therapeutic effect on the other members.⁵

A second kind of divorce results from a lack of what Terman has called "marital aptitude" in one or both partners. These people cannot be diagnosed as in any way pathological; they just do not have, for whatever reason, family-centered interests and values. Career, travel, adventure, "helling around," are more attractive to them than domestic or home-centered activities. These people may be of exceptional ability or they may be of average or low ability. The conflict inheres in an incongruity between temperament and family role demands. These people chafe under the restraints of domestic roles.

A third type of divorce results from what I have called the "team factor." These divorces come after really serious and genuine efforts have been made to make a success of the marriage. The individuals are sincere; they have tried; they recognize their responsibilities; they still make one another and their children miserable. Married to others, they are capable of marital adjustments judged to be of average success or better.

A fourth kind of divorce has been distinguished by Lawrence Kubie. He points out that as a result of increased longevity many marriages today are terminated by divorce that in the past would have been terminated by death. Just as cancer and diseases of the heart have "increased" because of longer life, so also has the divorce rate.

It is clear that though all four types of divorce have in common a legal dissolution of the marital tie, they are not at all the same kind of phenomenon. The people involved are not the same. The relationships involved are not the same. Nor are the consequences, for children as well as for partners. Nor would the same kind of preventive program fit them all equally well.

Separation.—The second manifestation of marital instability is called "separation." It is assumed that most role responsibilities

⁵ This was one of the interesting findings in the Family-centered Project of St. Paul. See L. L. Geismar and Beverly Ayres, *Families in Trouble: an Analysis of Basic Social Characteristics of One Hundred Families Served by the Family Centered Project of St. Paul* (St. Paul: Greater St. Paul Community Chests and Councils, Inc., 1958), pp. 71-72.

are recognized. Here we refer to separation because of military service or because of job requirements and to legal separation. Since some, if not all, family role obligations are recognized, a separation does not always get into the records. We do not know much about it, in fact. Sometimes it is the prelude to divorce. Sometimes it is a "temporary divorce." Sometimes it is a psychological if not a legal divorce. We ought to know more about it.

Desertion.—A special manifestation of instability, one in which role obligations are not recognized is desertion. Desertion too is sometimes a symptom of personality disorder. But sometimes, as in the case of Negroes who have not yet accepted the marital norms of white society, it is a common practice which is not seriously condemned by the mores.

These three manifestations of marital instability are so different in etiology that any lumping together in a common preventive program would seem to be foredoomed to failure, as fallacious as dealing with all fevers the same way, or treating all nutritional diseases with the same diet, or trying to prevent poliomyelitis and heart diseases in the same way because both may result in paralysis.

Although there may be general consensus with respect to the manifestations of marital instability, the classification must always be *ex post facto*, too late. We cannot tell in advance which marriage belongs to which category and therefore what kind of preventive treatment to provide. Here are 100 new marriages. In this particular community the statistical odds are that twenty-five of them will ultimately end in divorce and an unknown number in separation or desertion. Which ones? Two approaches to the problem are theoretically possible; one may be called the "clinical" and one the "epidemiological."

It is a commonplace in folk psychology that every marriage is a gamble. The odds in favor of stability vary greatly in different marriages. Parents, friends, disinterested observers, sometimes articulate what they consider to be the odds: "They'll never make a go of it"; "I give them one year"; "Why did they do it? It can't

last." These predictions are based merely on noncontrolled observation. More refined is prediction based on tests. Here a host of factors, including background and personality, are taken into account. The prediction is individualized, but it is based on statistical probabilities. Ideally, perhaps, preventive work would be directed primarily at those whose marriage had a poor prognosis on the basis of these tests. Such a program, far too expensive at the present time, would involve the administration of Terman-type tests to young people, say in the high schools, to locate those with low marital aptitude or with low probability of marital success, and to give them special therapy or counseling or guidance. At the engagement level couples might be given Burgess-type tests to assess team factors.⁶

This leaves the epidemiological approach. The public health officer does not make a clinical test to determine an individual's relative immunity to smallpox, for instance; he inoculates everyone in areas where incidence of the disease is high. Since we cannot as yet apply individual tests to all newly married couples, we have to concentrate our efforts where the odds are heavy in the direction of marital instability.

Unfortunately, the statistics on divorce do not break the data down according to the etiological factors delineated above.⁷ Our information is therefore massive rather than discriminatory.⁸ But we do know that divorce tends to have relatively high incidence among those who marry very young. It has relatively high incidence among those with little education. It has relatively high incidence among nonwhite segments of the population. The same pattern of incidence prevails for separation also. These findings

⁶ Psychiatrists have contributed to measurement of team factors of a psychiatric nature. See, for example, Milly Harrower, "The Measurement of Psychological Factors in Marital Maladjustment," in Eisenstein, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-91.

⁷ See "The Need for Nationwide Marriage and Divorce Statistics," by the Committee on Marriage and Divorce Statistics of the American Sociological Society, *American Sociological Review*, XXIII (1958), 306-12.

⁸ In my book *Remarriage* (New York: Dryden Press, 1956), p. 108, I made a rough guess to the effect that 14 percent of those securing divorces constituted the "hard core" who did not remarry; 33 percent were either suffering from personality disorders or lacked marital aptitude; and 53 percent were capable of successful marriage with other partners.

are enough to begin with. On the basis of their evidence on expected incidence of divorce and separation,⁹ a preventive program would economize its resources if it concentrated on marriages of persons below the average age at marriage, of relatively little education, and among nonwhites. A program so aimed would exclude some marriages that were going to need help and seine in many marriages that were not. But it would include a large number in the former classification.

Not all the data needed to locate the couples vulnerable to instability are readily available. Only information on age at marriage would probably be universally available. It is proposed, therefore, that the preventive program here suggested be geared to include all those marriages in which the brides are under the median age at marriage.

Any program designed to head off marital instability would fall into the category of a social invention. In this area social workers have been remarkably creative, and they have been as imaginative as contributors, legislators, and administrators would allow them to be. The history of social welfare in the last century amply attests to this fact.

Few, if any, inventions of any kind, whether physical or social, are wholly new. They usually combine existing traits or cultural elements into a new whole. The neomarital program here proposed is certainly of this eclectic nature.¹⁰ The elements are all present in our society. It is merely a matter of learning how to put them together in a functional way.

The program will be presented under four headings: (1)

⁹ At any time, about 2 percent of the adult population is in the divorced status and 3 percent in the separated status. These rates remain fairly constant from one decade to another despite the larger proportion of the population that is married now as compared to the past.

¹⁰ In the spring of 1956 the Commissioner of Social Security enlisted the help of two outstanding researchers in the family field, Dr. Emily Mudd and Dr. Reuben Hill. They were commissioned to study ways and means for strengthening family life in the United States. They reviewed the literature, made a survey of sixteen selected practitioners in eleven major areas, conferred with three key psychiatrists, and contributed their own thinking and experience. The memorandum they submitted constitutes one of the most creative illustrations of "brainstorming" in the literature. The thinking behind the program here proposed was based on, and stimulated by, the ideas presented in their memorandum.

techniques for reaching the newly married; (2) personnel involved in implementing the plan; (3) specific program elements; and (4) sponsorship and/or administration.

1. *Techniques.*—Social workers will undoubtedly recoil at the suggestion that newly married couples be approached by a "Welcome Wagon."¹¹ First, it ties in with an advertising "gimmick"; second, its use would seem to violate a basic canon of social work.

Nevertheless, there seems no justifiable objection to using a culture trait that industry has found so rewarding. Americans have accepted the paid-for aggression of advertisers; it is far less repulsive to them than friendly do-gooding would be. There is, moreover, the important fact that industry has a large stake in family stability. It should certainly be permitted to contribute to any program for stabilizing families. The Welcome Wagon would come bearing gifts; it would facilitate entree into the new family.

The second, and perhaps more basic, objection that social workers will raise is that the Welcome Wagon approach is a form of buying entree into a home; that, in effect, it offers help before help is requested. Almost any preventive program will be subject to this criticism. But it is important to point out that although the "hostess" would make contact with the young people she would in no way coerce them into anything.¹²

The function of the hostess would be primarily to welcome the young people into the world of married couples. She would convey friendly interest. She would emphasize the couple's unity. (Being treated as a unit and reacting as a unit are essential steps in developing a *feeling* of unity.¹³) She would be concerned but not inquisitive. She would do no research. She would make no

¹¹ Emphasis on personal relationships as a means of reaching young people does not imply that other techniques are not recognized as valuable. The use of mass media would certainly be valuable in preventive programs. Suggestions with respect to ways of reaching families are presented in the Hill-Mudd memorandum. There is some research evidence that personal contacts tend to be especially effective.

¹² A possible, if not immediately feasible, alternative to the Welcome Wagon approach might be the use of what social workers call the "constructive use of authority." Just as parental consent is required for marriage below a certain age, so participation in this program might be required of those who marry below the median age.

¹³ See Bernard, *American Family Behavior* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1942), pp. 3-4.

diagnosis. And yet, as in the case of the Welcome Wagon, much of the success of the program would depend on her. This leads to the problem of personnel. Where could hostesses be found? Who should they be?

2. *Personnel.*—A program that involved making contacts with even half of all the newly married couples in any community (those who married under the median age) would make staggering demands on personnel.¹⁴ Keeping in touch with the young couples for a year or two would vastly increase the demand. If the personnel had to be recruited from the ranks of social workers, the whole plan would obviously collapse. But social workers would not be required as hostesses. Indeed, young wives who had been married two or three years would probably be better for the actual contact work than anyone else, on the theory that those who are near to problems they have themselves recently mastered are better teachers than those removed from them.

The experience of the Air Force is pertinent. It has evolved a Dependents Assistance Program "staffed and operated . . . by unpaid volunteers—the wives of Air Force officers, non-coms and airmen. Its basic premise is eminently sound: who knows better how to help an Air Force wife than another Air Force wife?"¹⁵ These volunteers work with the personal affairs officers, each one within clearly defined areas of operation. "The whole range of service offered—and 'offered' is an important word—starts with a visit to a newly installed family by women of the Welcoming Committee. This is brief and informal and is intended simply to tell the family of the guidance and aid that are available . . ."¹⁶ They do the same sort of sharing of experience that was formerly done by brothers and sisters, cousins, and aunts.

¹⁴ Between January, 1947, and June, 1954, there were, roughly, 530,000 young women married annually who had had high school education or less and who were under the median age of marriage at the time of their marriage. The figure for white women was 450,700; for urban females, 300,730 ("Socio-economic Characteristics of Persons Who Married between January, 1947, and June, 1955: United States," Public Health Service, *Vital Statistics Special Reports, Selected Studies*, XLV [Sept. 9, 1957], 339-41).

¹⁵ C. B. Palmer, "USAF's 'Mutual Aid,'" *New York Times Magazine*, June 2, 1957, p. 36.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

Not everyone would, obviously, be suited to this kind of service. Not everyone who was suited to it would care to do it. Careful selection would have to be practiced in recruiting hostesses. It would be interesting, also, to experiment with using young men as "hosts." Perhaps the welcoming function should be performed by couples.

3. *Specific program elements.*—Industrialization has taken away from the family many services that were formerly performed by its members. Formerly, a young couple were under the supervision of older persons, could profit by the wisdom and experience of others. They were not, as they now are, isolated and cut off from an ongoing enterprise. It has been argued very persuasively that these services, such as day care and housekeeping, must be restored, not as charity, but as public utilities. But there is no reason to exclude more subtle functions from this analysis—functions such as counseling, healing, supporting, that were once performed by families spontaneously, automatically, without conscious or deliberate design, sometimes by individuals and sometimes by groups.

It would be the intent of the program here proposed to supply some of these services in a form suitable to present-day conditions of living. None of the elements is new.¹⁷ The problem is how to make them available to young couples. This is a task for the community organizer.

The array of program elements ranges all the way from those designed for people who need a minimum of help to those who need a maximum amount, from role-playing groups at one end to surveillance at the other.

Most young couples will be able to achieve stable marriages without outside help. They do not need any of the services sketched below. For them it is not a matter merely of preventing instability; it is rather a matter of making their relationship as

¹⁷ For a discussion of the several types of program elements proposed see Eisenstein, *op. cit.*, Chaps. 15 and 16, "Casework Treatment of Marital Problems" and "Group Approaches to the Treatment of Marital Problems." The last-named chapter includes a brief discussion of group education, group counseling, and group psychotherapy.

good as possible. *Role-playing groups* designed to improve interpersonal competence should be made available for them. The goal would not be preventive but creative.

For some couples, little more than *adult education* would be involved, the kind of education that at one time young people received almost as though they were apprentices. Such young couples would need only relatively superficial help of a technological or informational nature. Parent education programs catch family members after the children are born. Education of brides with respect to such technological aspects of homemaking as cooking is not unknown. Classes for young people in budgeting offer no problem. Classes for pregnant women are no longer a novelty.

Some young couples are headed for divorce because of their lack of marital aptitude. Here *counseling* would certainly be required as a minimum treatment resource. We now have facilities in many communities for premarital counseling on a high level of competence. Counseling for marriages on the edge of dissolution is also available. Neomarital counseling would fill the gap between them. With the backlog of experience available from premarital and marital counseling, it should not be difficult to work out the special problems involved in neomarital counseling, the kind of counseling that was available from older, more experienced family members in the past.

Here again the question of personnel might well be raised: Where are the counselors to come from? Experience in England suggests that a great deal can be done by properly selected, briefed, and supervised volunteers.¹⁸ I recognize the profound misgivings with which some social workers view the use of such volunteers and I would not for a moment minimize the difficulties. But since when have social workers rejected a plan only because it was hard?

A certain proportion of young couples might be divorce-bound because of mismating. These are the young people whom God never did join. They do not lack marital aptitude, but they are not suited to one another. Conceivably, they would need help in recognizing before it was too late that no marriage really existed.

¹⁸ "Marriage Counseling Must Be Extended," *Family Life*, XIX (1958), 3-5.

Such young people, capable of good marriages with other mates, might need help in securing a divorce before children were born. Admittedly, this would be a difficult decision to make; but it should not be ruled out as a possibility. No decision of such magnitude would, of course, be made without referral to competent professional personnel.

Some young couples are unable to achieve stable marriage because of some defect in the personality of one or both partners. For them, *therapy* would be required. For individuals, skilled social workers, clinicians, and psychiatrists would be necessary. Group therapy ranging all the way from Alcoholics Anonymous to the help available in the Cana Conference sponsored by the Catholic Church might be needed. The healing forces generated in group relationships need not be a last resort. They are often preventive as well as therapeutic.

Role-playing, education, counseling, and therapy would probably meet the needs of practically all young couples. But there would undoubtedly remain a small and as yet indeterminate proportion that would be vulnerable to marital instability—desertion, most likely—unless a special kind of preventive program could head it off. It is conceivable, for example, that only careful *surveillance* could prevent marital instability of one kind or another. There seems to be a segment of the population for whom some sort of continuing surveillance is necessary. These are marginally dependent people. They are not necessarily vicious or abnormal or seriously pathological. In the past, support from the more competent members of the family would keep them on even keel. Without some kind of support, they succumb to failure. They are capable of performing some aspects of their roles as husbands and wives, but not all.

We are now well accustomed to the surveillance of behavior by parole or probation. The watchful eye which the Youth Board worker keeps on gangs is now accepted. Surveillance is part of the thirty-day mandatory waiting period before divorce in several states where marriage counselors—often too late—step in to help the partners work out their problems. In the Los Angeles Supreme Court's Court of Conciliation one of the partners may even be

subpoenaed. However much we may flinch at the idea, it is conceivable that a certain proportion of a modern industrialized population, isolated from old family support, could well profit from thoughtful surveillance by a trained social worker or marriage counselor.

In a world made sensitive to the sinister implications of Big Brother, resort to such preventive surveillance, especially if sanctioned by court order, would have to be based on firm theoretical and ethical grounds. Do people have a right to reject preventive treatment in family relations any more than in contagious illness? The spread of damage may be as great in one case as in the other.

So much for the programs required to prevent marital instability. It is one thing to provide such programs and to make contacts with young people. It is quite another thing to bridge the gap between couples and programs. Who would assume responsibility for doing this? Who would sponsor the programs?

4. *Sponsoring agency.*—Since so many types of services are proposed, the danger is that no one kind of agency will feel truly involved. Adult educationists will not feel such a program to be *their* responsibility. Counseling agencies will find it outside *their* traditional domain. Therapists and other specialists will also. Government certainly has a large role to perform in any plan for stabilizing the family,¹⁹ but administration of this suggested program is not part of it.

For some of the young couples the ideal sponsor would be the church. The pattern illustrated in the Cana Conference which the Catholic Church has been evolving has much to recommend it.²⁰ Interdenominational Protestant experiments are possible. Rabbis have also been working out plans that dovetail with these proposals.

For many young couples, however, the church would not be the most acceptable sponsoring unit. For some the Urban League might be a suitable unit; for some, a community center; for

¹⁹ The contribution of government was expertly outlined in the Hill-Mudd memorandum.

²⁰ Cana Conference of Chicago, *The New Cana Manual*, Rev. Walter Imbierski, ed. (Chicago: Delaney Publications, 1957).

others, a private family agency. Just how the work would be divided would pose a subtle problem in community organization.

Let us assume, for example, that there are 200 newly married couples in a particular area. Because we know that the odds for instability are greater for the very young ones, we wish to select the youngest ones for contact. We cannot tell just from looking at them which ones are likely to fall into the several etiological categories of instability and therefore which kinds of preventive treatment should be applied. How do we proceed?

Every week, two weeks, month, or two months, according to the size of the community, someone would list from the records every marriage in which the bride was below the median age of marriage. The names of those who had been married by a clergyman would, let us say, be sent to the appropriate church representative. The names of those who had no church affiliation would be sent to secular organizations, such as the Urban League, a local family agency, or some other suitable sponsoring unit. The representatives in charge would then sort out the marriages on the basis of parental residence, as the most available index of class.²¹

A hostess, host, or host-couple of the same general class background would then be assigned the responsibility of visiting a certain number of couples—perhaps six or seven couples for each host-couple—with a Welcome Wagon and inviting them to attend a meeting or party or conference, either in a home or in some other agreeable place.

At the first meeting organizational plans could be made. It would not make too much difference what the specific plans were, provided the young couples were interested. Presumably at the early meetings there would be few marital problems in evidence, certainly not the deep-seated ones. As time passed, however, the several types of instability would begin to differentiate themselves. Some couples would begin to drop out. One partner might come but not the other. Skilled personnel would be prepared to notice any symptoms before they had had time to become serious.

²¹ In groups of neomarital couples, class homogeneity would be necessary. Value-homogeneity would also have to be sought. A couple with puritanical values, for instance, would not be helpful to a couple with libertarian values. A minimum amount of consensus with respect to values would be indispensable.

Professional help would be made available at the earliest possible moment.

It would be essential that every neomarital couple be reached. There are no research findings to suggest how many young couples would be interested in participating in the kind of program here proposed. Experience with college students suggests that young couples welcome and enjoy group sessions where they learn to understand their own problems and share the experience of others. Refusal to participate might mean only that the young couple were self-sufficient. It might, in some cases, however, mean that these young people were especially vulnerable—suspicious, withdrawn, hostile, isolated. Contact would be maintained with young couples whether or not they were participating in groups.

This, then, baldly sketched, is a possible social invention designed to head off marital instability before it has had a chance to occur. The precise blueprints would have to be drawn up to the specifications of individual communities and might vary from one to another. But the fundamental goal would be the same, namely, to perform a function once performed by families but not now being performed at all.

As I have indicated, there are profound ethical implications involved in this, as in other preventive programs. I would not want to minimize them. Someone has to make a decision about classifying the marriages; someone has to diagnose the difficulty in order to suggest, if not prescribe, preventive remedies. Since the program is designed to be preventive, someone has to predict. Granted that the researcher will be able to put a great deal of data at the disposal of the decision-maker, such decision-making is still a great ethical responsibility. Risks are inherent,²² and their gravity cannot be underestimated. But no program designed to meet so large a problem is likely to be simple, one-dimensional, or completely foolproof.

Seen in perspective, the social invention here proposed is designed to create new relationships, relationships that would perform functions once performed by kinship and spontaneous, small

²² The newly emerging body of research in "decision theory" could well be called upon for help.

local groups, supportive functions to reenforce the sometimes fragile reed of youthful love on which modern marriage so heavily leans.

CHANGE THROUGH GROUP EXPERIENCE

by LAWRENCE K. FRANK

CURRENT DISCUSSION of the problem of identity¹ and the widespread confusion and frequency of *anomie* among people today are confirming and extending Eduard Lindeman's early recognition of the significance of group experience.

Indeed, one of our urgent tasks is to develop more effective ways of relating the individual to social order and elaborating new relations of social order to the individual. As we struggle to create an industrial civilization,² our major difficulties are not technological but personal and social.

We should try to clarify our assumptions and increase our understanding of what takes place in the individual and in the group, where, let us confess, we are groping for more insight and struggling for clarification. We might start, therefore, by reminding ourselves of what is more or less obvious but is often forgotten or overlooked.

Thus we should reiterate that individuals are different, not only in terms of standardized tests and the various classifications we use—social, economic, religious, and so forth—but different in the sense of being unique organism-personalities. Each person has a unique heredity and life experience with all his idiomatic, idiosyncratic patterns of thinking, acting, feeling. It is so easy to ac-

¹ Erik Erikson, "The Problem of Ego Identity," *Journal of the American Psychoanalytic Association*, IV (1956), 56-121; Scientific Committee, *Identity*, Study No. 1 (London: World Federation for Mental Health, 1957).

² Eugene Staley, ed., *Creating an Industrial Civilization* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1952).

cept the current categories and generalizations, to think in terms of averages and norms that obscure the individuality of each person. And we must remind ourselves that each person must face, and try to cope with, a succession of developmental life tasks in growing up, tasks for which each one may have greater or less capacity. Also, each one has a greater or lesser need for establishing and maintaining relations that are appropriate, if not essential, at each stage in that sequence from childhood through old age. Chronological age, let me emphasize, seems to be the least significant aspect of a person because each person grows and develops at his or her own rate, especially in adolescence when puberty, not age, marks the significant dividing line from childhood.

Likewise, we should emphasize the great diversity of groups and organizations into which persons are drawn and the different meaning and significance of group membership in each of these.³ Thus a person may belong to, and participate in, a large number of groups, exhibiting in each a different facet or potentiality of his personality and finding in each something useful or necessary or to which he can contribute. There are often dramatic contrasts, such as organizations in which the membership is more or less compulsory—armed services, school, factory, store, office—and those with voluntary membership. An individual may be assigned to a group on the basis of criteria which are primarily for administrative convenience but of little relevance to that individual. This may occur in voluntary membership when a candidate is assigned to a group because there is a vacancy or he is of a chronological age, but without much concern for his readiness for that group or its appropriateness for him.

What kind of membership can we expect when an individual is arbitrarily assigned or allocated to a group? Redl⁴ pointed out some years ago that group formation is governed largely by the "central person" around whom the group is constituted, and many sociometric studies have shown the presence of isolates in groups.

³ Lawrence K. Frank, "What Influences People to Join Organizations?" *Adult Leadership*, VI (1958), 196-200.

⁴ Fritz Redl, "Group Emotion and Leadership," *Psychiatry*, V (1942), 573-96.

An individual may be seeking relations with others but be unable to find what is congenial to him, sometimes because he does not recognize his own present needs, sometimes because the kind of group he seeks is not available, and sometimes because he is assigned to a group where he cannot relate to others.

Let us also recognize that some organizations recruit members primarily as instruments for achieving the purpose of the organization, with little concern for the individual except that he be pliable and obedient to direction. Consequently, the individual member is expected to fit into the established pattern, and not much concern is shown for his growth as a person. If we had more "autonomous groups,"⁵ groupings that emerge from shared interests and strivings, liking for each other by all members, some of the difficulties in group work might be reduced.

Today we are trying to develop some new concepts that will enable us to understand more clearly what takes place in what we call "organization." Traditionally, our thinking has been in terms of the familiar idea of part-whole relation: we conceive of each part or member as combining with the other parts or members to make up a whole by the addition of some mysterious entity called "organization" that is imposed on these parts or members. No one can locate this organization entity, and our efforts to diagram it in organizational charts produce beautiful pictures of static entities but little understanding of what takes place. Recently we have been discussing self-regulating and self-directing process and communicating devices which offer a more dynamic approach to organization.⁶

A familiar illustration may make these ideas clearer. A football team is composed of eleven individual parts or members, each of whom has learned to perform the specific activities of his position in the team—fullback, quarterback, tackle, guard. Through the signals he receives and gives, which indicate the formation, play, and tactics, he communicates with his teammates and they with him.

⁵ "Autonomous Groups," *Journal of Educational Sociology*, Vol. XIX, No. 9 (May, 1950).

⁶ Norbert Wiener, *Cybernetics* (New York: John Wiley, 1948); Wiener, *The Human Use of Human Beings* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1950).

The team organization arises as each member continually communicates with the other ten members and each of them with him, so that what each does is always related to all the others. Thus the members create what we call the "team organization" which governs what each does. Organization, therefore, may be viewed not as a static entity nor as something imposed on the part-members but as a dynamic process arising from the concerted activities and continual communication of the members who literally create that which governs their individual activities.

A team is, of course, a highly specialized purposive group, but the process of its formulation and operation operates in all organized groups, with greater or less effectiveness according to their communication and their shared purposes. We have no adequate words for this circular, reciprocal relation (except perhaps "cybernetics"), which exhibits self-regulation and the maintenance of a dynamic stability in the sense that the organization can persist while undergoing a wide range of fluctuating activities and even extreme changes. This can take place because each member of the group is alert to the signals or messages coming from the others and assumes that they, in turn, will respond to his messages.

This process is to be observed in all organisms where the highly differentiated and specialized parts or organ systems—cells, tissues, fluids—are in continual communication with each other, evoking what will maintain the integrity and the dynamic stability of the organism as it engages in its wide range of living activities.

In organisms inherited structures—functions and communication channels; nerves, blood, lymph—provide for this organizing process, just as prolonged training and practice enable each member of a team to perform in these concerted activities of team play. What does the untrained individual bring to a group that enables him to participate in this organizing process?

We rely upon the enculturation and socialization of the child to provide him with the capacity and readiness to communicate and to participate in whatever activities he may enter or be assigned.

Every culture and every social order has its historically de-

veloped communication network, with various symbols and rituals, including the varied roles, such as masculine or feminine, which each person is expected to utilize in his life activities. But few of these are directly oriented to and conducive to group participation, being largely person-to-person, face-to-face communication, as in family living and most classrooms. Can we say, therefore, that individuals are rarely prepared for group activities outside special purpose teams or a few organizations operated by dominance-submission, as in most schools, military groups, and the like? Where does a person learn to function in a group?

If a human group were a machine, the problem of organization and communication would be effectively solved by precise methods, as we see in modern technology, especially in telephone systems and computing machines. But human personalities, who constitute groups, are uniquely different. Each has a highly selective awareness, a sometimes rigidly patterned perception which operates so that he perceives—sees and hears—only what he expects to perceive and interprets this according to his idiomatic ideas and beliefs, his customary pattern of action and feeling. Although, therefore, each person, as an organism, exists in the geographical world of nature and carries on his life activities in the public world of social life along with all others, nevertheless each personality lives as if in a private world of his own which he is continually maintaining and defending, while seeking to communicate with others.⁷

We see, therefore, that bringing several persons together in the same place at the same time does not give rise to a group. Indeed, as we know, it may take some time before they become a group as contrasted with a sheer aggregate or crowd of unrelated persons. When a person enters a group he scans it for signals, alert to every message, especially those that may indicate aloofness or even mild hostility which may be communicated through tones of voice, facial expressions, and gestures that are more potent messages than the verbalized welcoming words he hears.

⁷ Frank, *Nature and Human Nature: Man's New Image of Himself* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1951); Frank, *Projective Methods* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1948).

We use and respond to these nonverbalized signals, often without awareness of using them or of responding to them naïvely and unconsciously, yet they communicate warnings to be wary, to retreat, to withdraw. Until a person is sure of his place and acceptance in a group, he continually tests every situation and person in terms of its meaning for him. He interprets whatever is said or done according to its significance for his private world and, as we know, often egregiously distorts or misinterprets what is said or done.

The crux of this relation seems to be the individual's image of himself, his self-evaluation, his personal identity which derives from his experience with other personalities, what they have said to him, how they have treated him, communicated with him, and related to him. Few of us have a desirable image of the self because we have a traditional conception of human nature as innately wicked and sinful or fallen from grace. From early childhood we have been exposed to continual criticism, scolding, denunciation, and sometimes painful punishment and conditional love, all done by conscientious adults who want to make us law-abiding, socially responsible citizens and believe this is the only way to socialize a child.

With such past experiences we can understand that a newcomer usually approaches a group with certain expectations of how he will be treated and with his characteristic pattern of meeting such situations which may be active or passive, aggressive or defensive, or guarded. This is the only way he can maintain his private world and communicate with others, and when his expectations are frustrated, he may face a crisis. How that initial crisis is resolved may govern his subsequent activity and relations in that group. He may withdraw, physically or psychologically, seeing the group as hostile or nonreceptive; he may bluster and act out and by so much alienate the group; or he may, under favorable conditions, alter his initial perception of the group and see it as an accepting group to which he can belong. This usually involves a change in his image of himself as he gives up his previous self-defeating image and replaces it with another image that marks a step in his individual development. As Aldous Huxley

has said: "Hell is the realization that you can't help being what you usually find yourself doing." Groups, like close friends, offer escapes from the hell of our own self-defeating pattern of behavior that alienates us from the very persons we want to know and have acceptance from. But note that such change is not one-sided: it takes place by a process of communication in which the newcomer and the whole group are involved. These communications, I believe, are largely on the unconscious level to which I referred earlier. We may be said to resonate to others in consonance or in dissonance, depending upon these often unconscious feelings.

The way we feel about ourselves and toward others is, as we all know, the basis of all human relations. That is why aesthetic experiences are so fruitful since each person in the group contributes to, and derives from, shared activity, such as dramatic productions, spontaneous dramatizations, including puppet performances and role playing, choral singing and chanting, dance dramas, and making a mural or other group decoration. Without this feeling of shared emotionally toned experiences, an individual, as we see in school classrooms and in many adult education meetings, may never be genuinely involved, never feel with others, and so miss the experience of belonging to the group. These more or less stylized or patterned performances may give the shy, less outgoing person encouragement and at the same time tone down the more active, energetic ones who might otherwise monopolize the group attention.

We may think of group experience as primarily preparing for personality change; this process of reorienting ourselves takes place largely when we are alone—in our reflections and reveries, through that incessant talking to ourselves that everyone carries on in his private world as he criticizes and scolds or exhorts himself. In solitude we rehearse the past and prepare for the future. Ideas, insights, and the effect of stimulating discussion or of moving aesthetic experiences act as catalysts or enzymes in our reflections, between group meetings. We perceive familiar situations and persons in a new way and we realize that we may communicate and relate ourselves more productively as we reflect

upon, and work over, our experience. If, as is frequently done in some groups, the members are asked to evaluate each session, we may kill these enzymes and prevent this subtle process of reeducation that should take place after the meeting. Or we may crystallize a feeling of dismay or defeat which might, in later thinking, be reinterpreted and resolved less destructively. A person may rate as very poor a group meeting which may profoundly alter his subsequent thinking and feelings.

Let us not forget, therefore, that a group meeting can be very productive in its consequences, depending upon how much the individual is genuinely involved and how intensely he has experienced the occasion. Consider what happens when we attend a theater or a movie or watch a good TV drama. If the show is at all dramatically compelling, we forget our ordinary preoccupations for the time being, we escape from our narrow private world and enter into the imaginary world of the dramatic creation, so that, sitting in the dark, alone, we may more nearly live in a shared world than at any other time. Afterward, we may be more aware of others, more sensitive to other personalities, because of our experience.

If we can provide such shared experiences, members of a group can, so to speak, be released for a while at least, and may escape from their usual concerns and chronic feelings, their often pessimistic reveries. We may through these group meetings be providing something of large significance for mental health. It is not just entertainment or escapism if this release brings personal growth and maturation for an individual. Each time he loses himself in the group experience, he may be able to grow and mature, because he can live thereafter more fully as a person and be more responsive to others.

While we continually speak of developing responsibility in young people, we might also consider how we can develop more *responsability*, the capacity to respond to others so that we can genuinely communicate. Perhaps the development of *responsibility* may be one of the major tasks of group work since we suffer so acutely from inability to respond spontaneously and generously. As D. H. Lawrence remarked in *The White Peacock*,

"It is the way our feelings flow and recoil that really determines our lives" and, let us add, enables us to communicate with others.

This, of course, is what every culture has provided in the form of group rituals and ceremonies in which the individual practices or rehearses his responses to others, thereby renewing his morale and reaffirming his group solidarity. In so far as many of our traditional ceremonies have lost their former meaning and potency, we must try to create new rituals and emotionally toned group experiences to replace them.

Approached in this way, we may emphasize that the source of the dynamics of human personality comes from the aspirations and the time perspective⁸ in which an individual perceives the world. Our concern with individual defects, failure, and misconduct has led us to neglect "growth motivation" and to dwell chiefly upon "deficiency motivation," as Maslow⁹ and Helen Lynd¹⁰ have emphasized. While we have an immense literature on how they go wrong, are stunted, warped, and distorted, we lack any genuine understanding of how personalities develop. Unfortunately, we may tend to carry over what we learn from psychopathology to our dealings with groups and try to apply it to groups where it is not appropriate or relevant.

Unlike group therapy, where the focus is on the individual's private world and the aim is to bring about a revelation of each member's past experiences and chronic feelings, group work recognizes the individuality of each one but is concerned with his present life activities and his potentialities and seeks to evoke his capacity for continuing growth and development through group experiences.¹¹

While identification is recognized as basic in early personality development, we should realize that the emergence of the differentiated self takes place by polarization to others as each person

⁸ Frank, *Society as the Patient* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1948). See Chap. 27, "Time Perspectives."

⁹ Abraham Maslow, *Motivation and Personality* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954).

¹⁰ Helen M. Lynd, *On Shame and the Search for Identity* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1958).

¹¹ Helen U. Phillips, *Essentials of Social Group Work Skills* (New York: Association Press, 1957).

learns to maintain his individual private world in all his relations and communications with others who evoke and recognize his individuality. Thus the adolescent establishes the masculine or feminine role by seeking recognition from the other sex. If a group demands conformity, it may suppress this individuality or, more often, provoke resistance or rebellion that is exhibited as individualism, not individuality. When, however, a group favors and evokes individuality it not only enhances each member but provides growth experiences for all, thus strengthening the group.

Some personalities are not capable of such growth without individual treatment. But if group workers can enlist the aid of clinics,¹² it may be possible to provide for such individuals within the group, as Martin¹³ has shown in his work with children and adolescents. Likewise, for certain members who are "difficult," smaller subgroups composed of three or four persons can usually provide more favorable situations and relations in which the difficult member may function with less of his usual behavior and conflict. These selected members of the subgroup do not evoke his usual behavior but offer possibilities for trying new patterns and entering into new relations.

To guard against misunderstanding let me state that this emphasis upon fostering individuality is *not* a plea for what we call "individualism." As I see it, those who cannot accept themselves and who feel they do not belong are likely to seek power, prestige, and position by all manner of antagonistic, disruptive, domineering practices which we call "individualism." Individuality is different and arises from self-acceptance and recognition by others of his uniqueness as a person, which in turn helps him to recognize and accept others. Here we see the operation of a "virtuous circle" in place of the vicious circle of individualism and unending power-seeking. Group work has many opportunities and, I believe, a major responsibility for fostering mental health, helping individuals to cope with their life tasks by providing the renewal of their morale, the building up of their self-

¹² Frank, "The Place of the Mental Hygiene Clinic in a Group Work Agency," *Mental Hygiene*, XL (1956), 237-50.

¹³ Alexander Reid Martin, "Using Leisure Time Agencies to Treat the Problems Confronting Adolescents," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, CIX (1952), 344-51.

confidence and courage, so that they can work through their personal problems and attain adulthood.

There are, I believe, many possibilities for creative experimentation, utilizing the dynamics of the group to provide for the many and varied needs of individuals. Especially urgent are the needs of adolescents today who so desperately need group experiences that will help them to discover themselves, and also of older persons who so frequently suffer from inability to communicate and to relate themselves but who through appropriate experiences may develop their latent potentialities and develop new interests and relations, and become more responsible.¹⁴

Group workers have the challenging but perplexing task of maintaining a dual focus upon each of the individual members and also upon the organizing process, the ever shifting communications and circular reciprocal relations. This involves the kind of participation and observation in which the group worker acts as the catalyst to evoke the group's activities and relations. One test of such leadership is that the members progressively outgrow the need of the initial leadership and become increasingly self-regulating and self-stabilizing. This occurs as each member of the group works out his relation to the others and is able to evoke from them what will enable him to participate as a full-functioning member. Here again we may emphasize the circular reciprocal process of group organization and operation, which takes time to achieve, and also the wise, patient leadership that operates like an orchestra conductor.¹⁵

Group work is concerned not only with helping individuals to develop and function as members of a group, but also with developing groups that will contribute to the attainment of a more desirable social order, that will foster in people the capacity and willingness to work for social good.

Political parties and local political organizations are usually "machines," to use the common term, where individuals are expected to "stand without being hitched," as they used to say,

¹⁴ Robert L. Sutherland, *Can an Adult Change?* (Austin, Texas: Hogg Foundation for Mental Health, University of Texas, 1957).

¹⁵ Frank, *How to Be a Modern Leader* (New York: Association Press, 1954).

obedient to party orders and demands, largely in hope of rewards in the shape of public jobs or political favors. The widespread apathy and limited participation in voting indicate that people generally do not have a feeling of belonging and of active participation in these hierarchal machines, except for the few who run the machine. As suggested by Jouvenel¹⁶ recently, the relation of the individual to his government should be mediated by smaller groups—not pressure or action groups alone, where too often the individual is significant only as adding another name or voice to already formulated proposals or demands, but groups in which each member functions as a whole person in ways that enhance his self-respect and recognize his dignity as a person. Can we say that through group work experiences we are exploring for ways to create a social order, not just to maintain our economic, political, legal, and other institutions?

Local groups in which each individual actively participates may be more successful than formal citizenship activities and civic educational programs because in such groups the individual learns to communicate and often to engage in purposive striving that is not for personal gain or advantage. In such groups people learn to listen to each other as in the Group Conversations developed by Rachel Du Bais, of the Workshop for Cultural Democracy. It is through such group experiences that social and cultural change takes place in the minds and hearts of people when they find reassurance and sanction for changing their ideas and their expectations, from their in-group relations.

If we are clear that our purpose is to foster individual development, we can avoid the enforced conformity, the coercive regimentation and exploitation of youth and adults that take place in authoritarian regimes abroad.

If we can provide a series of group experiences in childhood and adolescence, individuals may learn how to participate, on successive levels of increasing significance, in maintaining a free social order. Through group-oriented personality development,

¹⁶ Bertrand de Jouvenel, *Sovereignty: an Inquiry into the Political Good*, tr. J. F. Huntington (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957); reviewed in *American Sociological Review*, April, 1958.

each person can discover himself and find the needed support for making the transitions necessary for his maturation.

Only a very few creative persons can live by and for themselves, finding in their creative work complete engrossment. All others require continual communication to establish and maintain their identity, finding themselves largely in the response from others and developing through the ability to give to others. Generosity makes us strong, but we may not have sufficient opportunity to give of ourselves to others because we are so often focused on defending ourselves or attacking others.

As we recognize this dynamic, circular, reciprocal process in organizations that are not coercive or hierarchal, we see that there is no need to suppress individuality, to merge the person into a faceless mass. Only the active, full participation of each member of the group can give rise to organization as contrasted with regimentation and dominance-submission. Therefore, individuality strengthens the group and provides the dynamics of the organizing process which we cannot understand in terms of the familiar cause-and-effect, stimulus-and-response, superordination-subordination relations.

Moreover, such shared group experiences offer the most promising way to reduce the number of isolates who so often feel resentful and hostile because they are alone and unrelated and who resist needed social change or become pliable tools in the hands of political manipulators, as we see in many areas today. How effectively we can involve people in group experiences that enable them to communicate, discover themselves, and share their aspirations may be more important than many of the seemingly urgent issues we now discuss. Before people can act effectively as citizens they must have "whoness," to use Dr. John Plant's expression. It is ironical that so many children and youth can find these much needed group experiences only in antisocial and self-defeating gangs.

Democracy is more than freedom of action, speech, and belief, more than voting or representative government, precious as are these hard-won rights. Democracy is an aspiration toward a society which will continually assay all its laws and institutions, its

organizations and relations, in terms of what they mean for the individual personality and will progressively seek to improve them.

If we genuinely believe in the worth of the individual personality and in human dignity, then we cannot permit anyone, no matter how unimportant he may seem, to be unnecessarily deprived or frustrated, impaired, damaged, or humiliated, because we know that anyone so mistreated or neglected will, by so much, be less capable of participating in maintaining a free social order.

Appendix A: Program

THE MAJOR FUNCTION of the National Conference on Social Welfare (NCSW) is to provide a dynamic educational forum for the critical examination of basic welfare problems and issues.

Programs of the Annual Forums are divided into two parts: (1) the General Sessions and the meetings of the section and common services committees, all of which are arranged by the NCSW Program Committee; and (2) meetings which are arranged by the associate and special groups affiliated with the NCSW.

In addition to arranging these meetings, associate and special groups participate in the over-all planning of the Annual Forum programs.

In order that the NCSW may continue to provide a democratic forum in which all points of view are represented, it is prohibited by its Constitution from taking positions on social issues. Individuals appearing on Annual Forum programs speak for themselves and have no authority to use the name of the NCSW in any way which would imply that the organization has participated in or endorsed their statements or positions.

Theme: Social Welfare: Accent on Prevention

SUNDAY, MAY 11

12:00 NOON-1:00 P.M.

Orientation Session for Newcomers

Speakers: Maurice O. Hunt, Chief, Bureau of Child Welfare, Maryland State Department of Public Welfare, Baltimore
Ruth M. Williams, Assistant Executive Secretary, National Conference on Social Welfare, New York City office

2:15 P.M.-3:15 P.M.

Orientation Session for Foreign Visitors

Population Trends

Philip M. Hauser, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago
Cultural Resources

Paul Angle, Director, Chicago Historical Society

Industrial Resources

Charles F. Willson, Director, Industrial Division, Chicago Association of Commerce and Industry

3:00 P.M.-4:30 P.M.

Conference Reception

5:00 P.M.

Opening General Session. Foreign Relations Begin at Home

Presiding: Eveline M. Burns, President, National Conference on Social Welfare

Musical program by New Trier Township High School Chorus

Invocation by Dr. John H. Hager, Department of Social Welfare, Church Federation of Greater Chicago

Greetings by Mrs. Robert L. Foote, Chairman, Chicago Sponsoring Committee for the 85th Annual Forum

Greetings from the City of Chicago by Fred K. Hoehler, Consultant to the Mayor (on behalf of Mayor Richard J. Daley)

Foreign Relations Begin at Home

Philip C. Jessup, Hamilton Fish Professor of International Law and Diplomacy, Columbia University, New York; former U.S. Ambassador at Large

MONDAY, MAY 12

9:00 A.M.-10:45 A.M.

General Session. Social Welfare Is Our Commitment

Presiding: John W. Tramburg, Commissioner, New Jersey State Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton

Introduction of members of NCSW Program Committee and Committee on Combined Associate Group Meetings

Presidential Address

Eveline M. Burns, Professor of Social Work, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, New York; President, National Conference on Social Welfare

11:15 A.M.-12:45 P.M.

Section 1. Services to Individuals and Families**GROUP MEETING 1. PSYCHIATRIC CONSULTATION IN A FAMILY AGENCY: A REPORT OF STUDY FINDINGS**

Presiding: Mrs. Esther Schour, Administrative Director, Child Care Program, Institute for Psychoanalysis, Chicago

Speaker: Dorothy Aikin, Associate Professor, School of Social Serv-

ice Administration, University of Chicago

Discussant: Le Roy Levitt, M.D., Chicago

GROUP MEETING 2. TREATMENT OF THE DISTURBED YOUNG CHILD

Presiding: Alan D. Wade, Chief Social Worker, Wisconsin Diagnostic Center, Madison

Speakers: Evelyn Fogel, Casework Director, Jewish Children's Bureau, Chicago

Celia Rice, caseworker, Jewish Children's Bureau, Chicago

Paul Reizen, caseworker, Jewish Children's Bureau, Chicago

Discussant: Selma Fraiberg, Department of Psychiatry, College of Medicine, Wayne University, Detroit

GROUP MEETING 3. A NEW LOOK AT CONFIDENTIALITY

Presiding: Eunice Minton, Chief, Welfare Standards Branch, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

Speaker: Marie Youngberg, Director, Home Service, American National Red Cross, Washington, D.C.

Discussants: C. Wilson Anderson, Executive Director, Family and Children's Service, Minneapolis; Arthur Miller, M.D., Consultant Psychiatrist, Jewish Family and Community Service, Chicago; Henry Weber, Director, Public Relations, United Community Funds and Councils of America, New York

GROUP MEETING 4. (CO-SPONSORING GROUP: COMMITTEE ON PERSONNEL AND ADMINISTRATION). THE PSYCHODYNAMICS OF ADMINISTRATION

Presiding: John W. Tramburg, Director, New Jersey State Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton

An Administrator Speaks

Arthur H. Kruse, General Secretary, Family Service Association of Cleveland

A Staff Member Speaks

Ann Levine, Intake Supervisor, Illinois Children's Home and Aid Society, Chicago

GROUP MEETING 5. SOME RECENT EXPERIMENTS IN SUPERVISION

Presiding: Charlotte Towle, Professor, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago

Supervision: a Group Method (a joint paper by Robert T. Blazejack, Virginia M. Berkman, Vicki Gorter, and John J. Appleby)

Virginia Berkman, research social worker, Veterans Administration Hospital, Palo Alto, Calif.

Peer-Group Supervision

Ruth Fizdale, Executive Director, Arthur Lehman Counseling Service, New York

- GROUP MEETING 6. DIFFERENTIAL PLACEMENT PLANS FOR CHILDREN
Presiding: Robert Rosema, Superintendent, Michigan Children's Institute, Ann Arbor
Speaker: Dorothy B. Mueller, Chief Casework Supervisor, Staff Development Program, Hamilton County Welfare Department, Cincinnati
Discussant: Martin Gula, Consultant, Division of Social Services, Children's Bureau, Social Security Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

GROUP MEETING 7. THE ADOLESCENT "DROP-OUT": SOME DIAGNOSTIC AND TREATMENT CONSIDERATIONS

- Presiding:* Florence Poole, Professor of Social Work, University of Illinois, School of Social Work, Chicago Branch
Speakers: Solomon O. Lichter, Executive Director, Scholarship and Guidance Association, Chicago
 Elsie Rapien, caseworker, Scholarship and Guidance Association, Chicago
 Frances Seibert, psychologist, Scholarship and Guidance Association, Chicago, is a collaborator on these two papers although not appearing as a speaker
Discussant: Eugene I. Falstein, M.D., psychiatrist, Chicago

Section II. Services to Groups and Individuals in Groups

The Potentialities of Group Experience in Mid-twentieth-Century American Life

- Presiding:* Helen U. Phillips, Professor of Social Work, University of Pennsylvania, School of Social Work, Philadelphia; Chairman, Section II

Social and Personal Change through Group Experience—Eduard C. Lindeman Memorial Lecture

- Lawrence K. Frank, free-lance writer and lecturer, Belmont, Mass.

Use of the Social Group Work Method to Effect Social and Personal Change

- Bernard M. Shiffman, Executive Secretary, Division on Recreation and Informal Education, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago

Section III. Services to Agencies and Communities

GROUP MEETING 1. EDUCATION OF EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN—THE LOUISIANA PLAN

- Presiding:* Frances Mullen, Assistant Superintendent, Exceptional Children Education, Chicago Public Schools
 Legal and Administrative Aspects and Diagnosis of Plan

John W. Kidd, Director, Special Education Center, School of Education, Northwestern State College of Louisiana, Natchitoches
Remedial and Therapeutic Aspects of Plan

Michael J. Cousins, Assistant Professor, Northwestern State College of Louisiana, Natchitoches

GROUP MEETING 2. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Presiding: Robert Fenley, Personnel Director, United Community Funds and Councils of America, New York

Community Development in Newly Developed Countries—Outlook for 1958

Arthur Dunham, Professor of Community Organization, School of Social Work, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Discussant: Campbell G. Murphy, Executive Director, Social Planning Council, St. Louis

GROUP MEETING 3. MOTIVATION RESEARCH—APPLICATION TO SOCIAL WELFARE

Presiding: Sidney J. Levy, Director of Psychological Research, Social Research, Inc., Chicago

Speakers: Harriet Bruce Moore, Associate Director for Research, Social Research, Inc., Chicago

Lee Rainwater, Director of Special Studies, Social Research, Inc., Chicago

Floor discussion

Committee on Personnel and Administration (Joint session with Section I—Group Meeting 4)

The Psychodynamics of Administration

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids. Human Growth and Development

Presiding: Sal Ambrosino, Assistant Director, Department of Parent Group Education, Child Study Association of America, New York

"From Ten to Twelve." Text-Film Department, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 330 West 42d Street, New York 36, N.Y.

"Six-, Seven-, and Eight-Year-Olds—Society of Children." Mental Health Materials Center, Inc., 1790 Broadway, New York 19, N.Y.

"The Teens." Text-Film Department, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 330 West 42d Street, New York 36, N.Y.

1:15 P.M.

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids. Training

Presiding: Mrs. Nellie Wright, Girl Scouts of the United States of America, New York

"To be a Leader." Girl Scouts of the U.S.A., 830 Third Ave., New York 22, N.Y.

2:00 P.M.—3:30 P.M.

Committee on Financing of Social Welfare Services

GROUP MEETING 1. RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PUBLIC AND VOLUNTARY HEALTH AND WELFARE SERVICES

Presiding: Mrs. Walter S. Church, President, Health and Welfare Federation of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County

Trends in Social Welfare Expenditures and Programs

Wilbur J. Cohen, Professor of Social Research, School of Social Work, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Public and Private—Principles and Philosophy

Leonard Mayo, Executive Director, Association for the Aid of Crippled Children, New York

GROUP MEETING 2. IMPLICATIONS OF UNITED FUNDS

Presiding: Edward L. Ryerson, Chairman, Chicago Community Trust

More Comprehensive Federated Financing—Its Strengths and Weaknesses

F. Emerson Andrews, Director, Foundation Library Center, New York; author of *Philanthropic Giving*, *Attitudes toward Giving*, and *Corporation Giving*

Floor discussion

Committee on Methods of Social Action

GROUP MEETING 1. THE USE OF BOARDS AND COMMISSIONS IN GOVERNMENT: A METHOD OF SOCIAL ACTION

Presiding: Victor I. Howery, Dean, Graduate School of Social Work, University of Washington, Seattle

Speaker: Wilfred C. Leland Jr., Director, Fair Employment Practices Commission, St. Paul

Floor discussion

GROUP MEETING 2. RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS—A METHOD OF SOCIAL ACTION

Presiding: Joseph Dwyer, State Director, Department of Agriculture, Seattle

Rural Communities in Action

Harry J. Reed, Dean, School of Agriculture, Purdue University; Coordinator, Rural Development Program, Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.

Floor discussion

Committee on Personnel and Administration

GROUP MEETING 1. CRITICAL ACTIVITIES OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AND PUBLIC CHILD WELFARE STAFFS

Presiding: John Keppler, Executive Officer, New York State Department of Social Welfare, New York

Activities of Public Assistance and Public Child Welfare Staffs

Irving Weissman, Associate Director, Curriculum Study, Council on Social Work Education, New York

Discussants: Jeanne Jewett, Administrator, Oregon State Public Welfare Commission, Portland; Mrs. Katherine McElroy, Associate for Professional Personnel, Division of Family Services, Community Service Society of New York; Mrs. Dorothy Mueller, Chief Case-work Supervisor of Training, Hamilton County Welfare Department, Cincinnati

GROUP MEETING 2. COMMON ELEMENTS IN BASIC ADMINISTRATIVE PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAMS, IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND IN BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

Presiding: Virgil Martin, Vice President and General Manager, Carson, Pirie, Scott and Co., Chicago

Panel members: Charles I. Schottland, Commissioner of Social Security, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.; Robert J. M. Matteson, Executive Director, American Society for Public Administration, Chicago; Willis Gradison, Jr., Cincinnati; formerly Assistant to Marion B. Folsom, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare; Sidney Mallick, Director, the Center for Programs in Government Administration, Chicago; Fred Steininger, Director, Lake County Department of Public Welfare, Gary, Ind.; Frank H. Cassell, Director of Personnel Administration, Inland Steel Co., Chicago

Recorder: Bess Craig, Child Welfare Representative, Regional Office, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Chicago

GROUP MEETING 3. ESSENTIALS IN ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE, POLICY, AND PRACTICE THAT WILL BEST UTILIZE AND SUPPORT SOCIAL WORK STAFF

Presiding: Sue Spencer, Director, School of Social Work, University of Tennessee, Nashville

Staff Participation in Developing Policy

Mrs. Freda Burnside Field, Consultant, Family Service Association of America, San Francisco

Establishing a Realistic Relationship between Services Undertaken and Staff Complement

Mrs. Patricia Rabinowitz, School of Social Work, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Dilemma of Demand for Service vs. Limited Numbers of Staff

Charlotte R. Emery, Supervisor, Eastern District Office, Allegheny County Board of Assistance, Pittsburgh
 Experience of Public and Voluntary Agencies in Long-Range and Immediate Planning
 Frank Greving, Associate Executive Director, Community Research Associates, New York

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids. Discussion Films

Presiding: Edward Linzer, Director of Education Services, National Association for Mental Health, New York

"Making a Decision in the Family." Text-Film Department, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 330 West 42d Street, New York 36, N.Y.

"An American Girl." Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 515 Madison Ave., New York 22, N.Y.

Discussant: Sal Ambrosino, Assistant Director, Department of Parent Group Education, Child Study Association of America, New York

4:00 P.M.—5:30 P.M.

Section I. Services to Individuals and Families

Building the Bridge between Social Work and the Social Sciences—Eduard C. Lindeman Memorial Lecture

Presiding: Ernest F. Witte, Executive Director, Council on Social Work Education, New York

Speaker: Grace L. Coyle, Professor, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland

Discussant: Theodore M. Newcomb, Professor, Doctoral Program in Social Psychology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Section II. Services to Groups and Individuals in Groups

GROUP MEETING 1. SOCIAL ATTITUDES AND SOCIAL ACTION

Presiding: Simon Slavin, Executive Director, Educational Alliance, New York

Social Attitudes and Social Action: Enhancing Social Responsibility in the Traditional Group Work Agency (jointly prepared by Simon Slavin and George Brager)

George Brager, Executive Director, Mt. Vernon YM-YWHA, Mt. Vernon, N.Y.

GROUP MEETING 2. SOCIAL GROUP WORK, A TOOL IN CHANGING BEHAVIOR OF HARD-TO-REACH YOUTH

Presiding: Margaret E. Hartford, Assistant Professor of Social Work, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland

The Administrative Role

Margaret Mudgett, Executive Director, Neighborhood Youth Association, Los Angeles

The Group Worker's Role

Helen Northen, Associate Professor, School of Social Work, University of Southern California, Los Angeles

Floor discussion

GROUP MEETING 3. THE PRACTICE OF SOCIAL GROUP WORK WITH HANDICAPPED AND EMOTIONALLY DISTURBED CHILDREN IN A COEDUCATIONAL SUMMER CAMP

Presiding: Louis Lowy, Assistant Professor of Social Group Work, Boston University School of Social Work

The Experience Previous to Coeducational Camping of the Development of Neighborhood Clubs Camp Operation, Boston Children's Service Association

Ralph L. Kolodny, Supervisor of Research, Boston Children's Service Association

The Introduction of the Coeducational Approach—Its Impact on Staff Practices and Camper Behavior

Virginia Burns, Camp Director, Boston Children's Service Association

Critique and Implications for Camping in Other Settings

Louis Lowy

Floor discussion

GROUP MEETING 4. GROUP WORK WITH MENTAL PATIENTS

Presiding: John Matsushima, Instructor in Social Work, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland

Social Group Work with Newly Arrived Patients in a Mental Hospital
Arnold Eisen, Assistant Director, Department of Social Services, Hillside Hospital, Glen Oaks, N.Y.

Discussant: Harry Citron, Director of Social Service, Eastern Shore State Hospital, Cambridge, Md.

Floor discussion

GROUP MEETING 5. HELPING OLDER ADULT GROUPS USE AGENCY SERVICES FOR THEMSELVES AND OTHERS

Presiding: Mrs. Mildred Barry, Director, Committee on Older Persons, Welfare Federation of Cleveland

Speaker: Bernard Marks, Assistant Director, Neighborhood Centre of Philadelphia

Discussant: Sidney R. Saul, Director of Group Work and Recreation, New York Association for the Blind, New York

Floor discussion

*Section III. Services to Agencies and Communities***GROUP MEETING 1. COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATOR**

Presiding: Loula Dunn, Director, American Public Welfare Association, Chicago

The Public Agency Point of View

James R. Dumpson, Deputy Commissioner, Department of Welfare, New York

From the Standpoint of the Community

C. F. McNeil, Executive Director, Health and Welfare Council, Philadelphia

GROUP MEETING 2. HOUSING STUDY—WESTCHESTER COUNTY

Presiding: Warren M. Banner, Associate Director, National Urban League, New York

Westchester County Housing Study—Background, Techniques, Results

Katherine Mihayl, Staff Consultant, Committee on Housing, Westchester County Council of Social Agencies, White Plains, N.Y.

Discussant: Merrill Krughoff, Director, Community Planning Division, United Community Funds and Councils of America, New York

Floor discussion***Committee on Audio-Visual Aids. Agency Interpretation***

Presiding: Martha Winn, Associate Director, Radio-Television-Films, United Community Funds and Councils of America, New York

"The Key." National Association for Mental Health Film Library, 13 East 37th St., New York 16, N.Y.

"A Gift to Grow On." Color; Association Films, Inc., 347 Madison Ave., New York 17, N.Y.

"A Place for Growing." Color or black and white; Boys' Clubs of America, 381 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N.Y.

7:00 P.M.

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids. Feature

Presiding: Elsa Volckmann, Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., New York; Chairman, Committee on Audio-Visual Aids

"On the Bowery." Contemporary Films, Inc., 13 East 37th St., New York 16, N.Y.

8:30 P.M.

General Session. Federal and State Responsibilities for Welfare Financing

Presiding: Robert E. Bondy, Third Vice President, National Conference on Social Welfare

Invocation by Msgr. Vincent W. Cooke, Catholic Charities of Chicago

Introduction of Past Presidents of the National Conference on Social Welfare

Presentation of plaques and certificates to individuals and agencies who have completed fifty years of continuous membership in the National Conference on Social Welfare

Federal and State Responsibilities in Financing of Social Welfare

Frank Bane, Executive Director, Council of State Governments, Chicago

Herman M. Somers, Professor of Political Science, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.

TUESDAY, MAY 13

9:15 A.M.—10:45 A.M.

Combined Associate Group Meeting. The Competition for Professional Manpower—Its Implication for Social Work Recruitment

Presiding: Leighton A. Dingley, Executive Secretary, Council of Community Agencies, Nashville, Tenn.

Speaker: Seymour L. Wolfbein, Chief, Division of Manpower and Employment, Department of Labor, Washington, D.C.

Discussant: Jeanne Strickland, Recruiting Specialist, Florida State Department of Public Welfare, Jacksonville

Floor discussion

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Present Patterns of Community Planning

Presiding: Paul R. Cherney, Executive Director, Family Service Bureau, Houston, Texas

Speaker: John B. Dillencourt, Executive Vice President and Secretary, United Fund of Greater St. Louis

Discussants: Waterman Baldwin, Executive Director, Council of Social Agencies of Columbus and Franklin County, Columbus, Ohio; Anthony J. DeMarinis, Executive Director, Family and Children's Service of Greater St. Louis; Philip Schenkenberg, Deputy Manager, Midwestern Area, American National Red Cross, St. Louis

Floor discussion

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Americans Meet the Hungarian Refugee Crisis

Presiding: Ann S. Petluck, Director, United States Operations, United HIAS Service, New York

A Review of Work Done in Behalf of the Hungarian Refugees Who Arrived

Panel members: Charlotte E. Owen, Executive Director, American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, New York—Concerns Covered by a Study of the Fact-finding Committee of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service; William S. Bernard, Executive Director, American Federation of International Institutes, New York—Report of American Immigration Conference Study on "Hungarian Refugee Resettlement in the U.S.; an Inquiry into Selected Problems, Trends, and Solutions at the Community Level"; Hope McDermott, Executive Director, American Service Institute, Pittsburgh

The Lessons We have Learned from This Hungarian Experience
 Msgr. Aloysius J. Wycislo, Assistant Director of Catholic Relief Services, National Catholic Welfare Conference, New York

Floor discussion

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Ways in Which Various Fields and Specialties Are Trying to Reach Unreached Youth

Presiding: Fred DelliQuadri, Director, Division for Children and Youth, Wisconsin State Department of Public Welfare, Madison

The Chicago Story

Catharine V. Richards, Coordinator, Hard-to-Reach Youth Project, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago

The Philadelphia Story

Robert C. Taber, Director, Division of Pupil Personnel and Counseling, Philadelphia Board of Public Education

The New York Story

Ralph W. Whelan, Director, New York City Youth Board

Floor discussion

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Rehabilitation Needs of Patients Discharged from Mental Hospitals

Presiding: Samuel Grob, Associate Director, Massachusetts Association for Mental Health, Boston

What Are the Needs of Patients Returning to the Community?

Alfred L. Kasprowitz, Chief Psychiatric Social Worker, Waukesha County Child Guidance Clinic, Waukesha, Wis.

Some New Approaches to Meet These Needs

Esther Cook, head psychiatric social worker, Massachusetts Mental Health Center, Boston

How Should These Needs Be Met?

Dorothy Mathews, Research Associate in Social Work, Community Health Project, Harvard School of Public Health, Boston

Question period

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids. Child Welfare

Presiding: Franklin R. King, Executive Director, Ridge Farm, Lake Forest, Ill.

"Frightened Child." International Film Bureau, 57 East Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Ill.

"The Umbrella." Mental Health Film Board, 166 East 38th St., New York 16, N.Y.

11:15 A.M.—12:45 P.M.

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Present Patterns of Community Planning

Presiding: Paul R. Cherney, Executive Director, Family Service Bureau, Houston, Texas

Speaker: C. F. McNeil, Executive Director, Health and Welfare Council, Philadelphia

Discussants: Chester C. Ridge, Executive Director, United Fund of Houston and Harris County; George W. Rabinoff, Assistant Director, National Social Welfare Assembly, New York; Arthur H. Kruse, General Secretary, Family Service Association of Cleveland

Floor discussion

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Integration—a Challenge to Community Agencies and Institutions

Presiding: William H. Bartlett, Consultant, Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area, Washington, D.C.

The Nation's Capital—Its Background and Progress

Isaac Franck, Executive Director, Jewish Community Council of Greater Washington; Lecturer in Philosophy and Psychology, American University, Washington, D.C.

Discussants: Walter N. Tobriner, President, Board of Education of the District of Columbia; Walter E. Washington, Special Assistant to the Executive Director, National Capital Housing Authority, Washington, D.C.; Mabel R. Cook, Executive Director, YWCA of the District of Columbia; Donald D. Brewer, Deputy Director, Department of Public Welfare of the District of Columbia

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Parent Education—Whose Responsibility?

Presiding: Mrs. Clement A. Smith, Trustee, Family Service Association of Greater Boston

Parent Education—What Is It? Where Is It Being Done? What Are the Requirements for Leadership?

Mae T. Mooney, Director of Family Life Education, Family Service Association of Greater Boston

Collaborator: Mrs. Libbie Bower, Mental Health Association of Massachusetts, Boston

Discussants: Alfred D. Buchmueller, Executive Director, Child Study Association of America, New York; Lawrence K. Frank, free-lance writer and lecturer, Belmont, Mass.

Floor discussion

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Labor and Social Work

Presiding: Isaac Gurman, Director, St. Louis Bureau for Men

The Role of Organized Labor in Providing Health and Welfare Services

Earl Loman Koos, Professor of Social Welfare, Florida State University, Tallahassee

Abe Bluestein, Business Manager, Sidney Hillman Health Center, New York

Floor discussion

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Indian Newcomers in Urban Communities

Presiding: Joseph E. Baldwin, Director, Department of Public Welfare, Milwaukee

Culture Makes a Difference

Sol Tax, Chairman, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago

How To Reach the Indian Urban Newcomer

E. Russell Carter, Field Representative for Indian Work, National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., New York

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids. Child Welfare

Presiding: Franklin R. King, Executive Director, Ridge Farm, Lake Forest, Ill.

"The Deep Well." Child Welfare League of America, 345 East 46th St., New York 17, N.Y.

"Al in the Hospital." Robert Disraeli Films, P. O. Box 343, Cooper Station, New York 3, N.Y.

1:15 P.M.—3:30 P.M.

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids. Aging

Presiding: Mrs. Geneva Mathiasen, Executive Secretary, National Committee on the Aging of the National Social Welfare Assembly, New York

"The Yellow Leaf." Text-Film Department, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 330 West 42d St., New York 36, N.Y.

2:00 P.M.—3:30 P.M.

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids. The Use of Filmstrips for Teaching and Interpretation in the Fields of Health and Welfare

Presiding: Marguerite Pohek, Educational Director, Pocket Films; Consultant on Audio-Visual Techniques and Materials, New York

4:00 P.M.—5:30 P.M.

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids. The Use of Filmstrips for Teaching and Interpretation in the Fields of Health and Welfare

Presiding: Marguerite Pohek, Educational Director, Pocket Films; Consultant on Audio-Visual Techniques and Materials, New York

8:00 P.M.

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids. Foreign Films

Presiding: Sarah Marshall, chief social worker, Union Health Center, International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, New York

"Song of Light." International Society for the Welfare of Cripples, 701 First Ave., New York 17, N.Y.

"Mamma Don't Allow." Contemporary Films, Inc. 13 East 37th St., New York 16, N.Y.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 14

9:00 A.M.—10:45 A.M.

General Session. Family Breakdown

Presiding: Mrs. Robert L. Foote, Glencoe, Ill.; Chairman, Sponsoring Committee for the 85th Annual Forum

Introduction of representatives of state conferences of social work
Is All Well with the American Family?

Joseph H. Reid, Executive Director, Child Welfare League of America, New York

Social Work's Contribution—an Appraisal of Possibilities and Limitations

Robert H. MacRae, Executive Director, Welfare Council of Metro-

politan Chicago; Second Vice President, National Conference on Social Welfare

11:15 A.M.-12:45 P.M.

Section 1. Services to Individuals and Families

GROUP MEETING 1. A NEW LOOK AT "STRENGTHENING FAMILY LIFE" THROUGH THE ADC PROGRAM

Presiding: Mary Alice Roberts, Training Specialist, Virginia State Department of Institutions and Agencies, Richmond

A New Look at "Strengthening Family Life" through the ADC Program
Helen Foster, Assistant Regional Representative, Bureau of Public Assistance, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, San Francisco

The Marin County Project and Its Implications for Family-centered Services

Betty Presley, Director, Marin County Welfare Department, San Rafael, Calif.

The Administrator's Responsibility for Casework Services

Ellen Winston, Commissioner, North Carolina State Board of Public Welfare, Raleigh

GROUP MEETING 2. THE CASEWORKER'S USE OF THE GROUP IN FAMILY COUNSELING

Presiding: Anna Budd Ware, Executive Director, Family Service of Cincinnati and Hamilton County

Group Counseling in a Family Casework Agency

Sanford M. Sherman, Assistant Executive Director, Jewish Family Service, New York

Family Education and Counseling in Groups

Sybil M. Baker, Executive Director, Family Service of Brookline, Mass.

GROUP MEETING 3. HOMEMAKER SERVICE AS A WAY OF STRENGTHENING FAMILIES DURING ILLNESS

Presiding: Robert Daniels, M.D., Assistant Professor, Department of Psychiatry, University of Chicago School of Medicine

Speaker: Jean Leach, Director of Casework, Family Service of Cincinnati and Hamilton County

Discussants: Ruth Agar, Case Supervisor, Veterans Hospital, Fort Snelling, Minn.; Ruth Schley Goldman, formerly Deputy Commissioner, Social Services, Chicago Welfare Department

GROUP MEETING 4. FAMILY PROBLEMS WITH THE RETARDED CHILD

Presiding: Jane Bull, Executive Director, Illinois State Commission for Handicapped Children, Chicago

What Can Social Services Offer to Parents of Retarded Children?

Manford A. Hall, Director of Community Services, National Association for Retarded Children, New York

A Parent Speaks

Barbara Smiley, Chairman, Commission on Mental Retardation, Ill.

GROUP MEETING 5. FAMILY BREAKDOWN INVOLVING YOUTHFUL AND ADULT OFFENDERS

Presiding: Wayne Vasey, Dean, School of Social Work, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N.J.

Troublesome Youths from Troubled Families

John J. Galvin, Warden, Federal Correctional Institution (Youthful Offenders), Ashland, Ky.

Offenders Have Families, Too

William Hoffman, Assistant Director, St. Paul Family-centered Project, St. Paul, Minn.

GROUP MEETING 6. THE "HOPELESS" FAMILY

Presiding: Rev. Joseph C. Springob, Director, Catholic Social Welfare Bureau, Milwaukee

Speaker: Kermit Wiltse, Associate Professor, School of Social Welfare, University of California, Berkeley

Discussant: Alice Overton, Director, St. Paul Family-centered Project, St. Paul, Minn.

Section II. Services to Groups and Individuals in Groups

GROUP MEETING 1. GROUP WORK'S CONTRIBUTION TO FAMILIES ON THE MOVE

Presiding: Marjorie Montelius, Executive Director, International Institute of San Francisco; Lecturer, School of Social Welfare, University of California, Berkeley

From One American Community to Another

Florence Scott, Executive Director, Telegraph Hill Neighborhood Association, San Francisco

From Other Countries to the American Community

Mary Williams, social group worker, International Institute of San Francisco

Floor discussion

GROUP MEETING 2. FAMILY CAMPING

Presiding: Sidney N. Geal, Standards Director, American Camping Association, Martinsville, Ind.

The Contributions of Family Camping to Family Life

T. R. Alexander, Associate General Secretary, YMCA of Pittsburgh; President, American Camping Association

GROUP MEETING 3. STRENGTHENING FAMILY LIFE THROUGH GROUP WORK IN A PUBLIC AGENCY

Presiding: Jerome Kaplan, Special Assistant on Aging to the Governor of Minnesota; Group Work Consultant, Hennepin County Welfare Board, Minneapolis

Group Work with Families within the Protective Services of a Public Agency, in Collaboration with Casework

Dorothy Wehrley, Director, Jefferson County Welfare Department, Louisville, Ky. (this presentation will be based on a paper prepared by Mrs. Jane McFerran, Supervisor, Protective Service Division, Jefferson County Welfare Board, Louisville)

Panel members: Vincent De Francis, Director, Children's Division, American Humane Association, Denver; William Hammond, Assistant Manager, Prairie, Ickes, Archer Housing Project, Chicago Housing Authority; Miriam Majander, clinical social worker, Veterans Administration Hospital, Minneapolis; G. Lewis Penner, Executive Director, Juvenile Protective Association of Chicago

Section III. Services to Agencies and Communities

GROUP MEETING 1. COMMUNITY RESPONSIBILITY FOR MEDICAL CARE—TWO POINTS OF VIEW

Presiding: Philip E. Ryan, Executive Director, National Health Council, New York

The Public Health Agency

James Dixon, M.D., Health Commissioner, Department of Public Health, Philadelphia

A Private Plan

Abe Bluestein, Business Manager, Sidney Hillman Health Center, New York

Floor discussion

GROUP MEETING 2. BROKEN FAMILIES—COMMUNITY PLANS FOR PREVENTION IN SELECTED CITIES

Presiding: Conrad Van Hyning, Executive Director, American Social Hygiene Association, New York

Panel moderator: Harry Serotkin, Associate Director, Health and Welfare Council of Philadelphia

Panel members: Paul Frisbie, Camping Director, YMCA of Philadelphia and Vicinity; Charlotte F. Andress, Program Coordinator, Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, New York; Jack Stumpf, Executive Director, San Bernadino County Council of Community Services, Calif.

Symposium members: David Austin, Executive Secretary, Group Work Council, Welfare Federation of Cleveland—Boston; Charles Shireman, Director, Hyde Park Youth Project, Chicago—Chicago; Mrs. Luna B. Leach, Assistant Executive Secretary, Greater Hartford Community Council—Hartford

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids. Emotional Health

Presiding: Kathryn Linden, American Nurses Association, New York

"Anger at Work." International Film Bureau, Inc., 57 East Jackson Blvd., Chicago 4, Ill.

"The Bright Side." Mental Health Film Board, Film Service Department, 13 East 37th St., New York 16, N.Y.

"Family Circus." Color; Contemporary Films, Inc., 13 East 37th St. New York 16, N.Y.

Discussant: Mrs. Alberta A. Jacoby, Executive Director, Mental Health Film Board, New York

1:15 P.M.

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids. Housing and City Planning

Presiding: Mrs. Dorothy Gazzolo, National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, Chicago

"Harlow—One of Britain's New Towns." Contemporary Films, Inc., 13 East 37th St., New York 16, N.Y.

2:00 P.M.—3:30 P.M.

Section I. Services to Individuals and Families

Service Needs and Agency Programs—Children's Bureau—Bureau of Public Assistance

Presiding: Phyllis R. Osborn, Professor, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago; Chairman, Section I

The Children's Bureau Takes Stock and Looks Ahead

Mrs. Katherine B. Oettinger, Chief, Children's Bureau, Social Security Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

The Bureau of Public Assistance Takes Stock and Looks Ahead

Jay L. Roney, Director, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

Section II. Services to Groups and Individuals in Groups

GROUP MEETING 1. FAMILY PROGRAMING IN AN URBAN COMMUNITY

Presiding: Margaret Berry, Field Secretary, National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, New York

Family Programing in Social Settlement

Paul K. Weinandy, Executive Director, Huntington Family Centers, Syracuse, N.Y.

Mrs. Laura Kohles, family group worker, Huntington Family Centers, Syracuse, N.Y.

Mrs. Lucille Harnden, family group worker, Huntington Family Centers, Syracuse, N.Y.

Floor discussion

GROUP MEETING 2. GROUP WORK EXPERIENCE WITH FAMILY LIFE EDUCATION

Presiding: Morris Seidler, Director, Youth Center, Young Mens Jewish Council, Chicago

Family Life Education as a Group Work Service

Harold Robbins, Executive Director, YM and YWHA, New York

Discussant: Mrs. Irene Funt, Director, Family Life Education, Jewish Family and Community Service, Chicago

GROUP MEETING 3. FAMILY PROGRAMMING IN NATIONAL YOUTH-SERVING AGENCIES

Presiding: Mrs. Gerard P. de Westfelt, Assistant Director, Program Department, Girl Scouts of the U.S.A., New York

Panel members: Helen Rowe, Associate Director, Camp Fire Girls, Inc., New York; Miriam R. Ephraim, National Jewish Welfare Board, New York; Kenneth Wells, Boy Scouts of America, New Brunswick, N.J.; Mrs. Lillian Lampkin, New York City Youth Board, New York; Olive Crocker, United Charities, Chicago; Gunnar Dybwad, Executive Director, National Association for Retarded Children, New York

Floor discussion

GROUP MEETING 4. GROUP WORK WITH THE RETARDED AS A MEANS OF STRENGTHENING FAMILY LIFE

Presiding: Harry Blank, Executive Director, Pennsylvania Association for Retarded Children, Philadelphia

Social Group Work Services for Noninstitutionalized Mentally Retarded Adults

Norman Flachs, Social Work Supervisor, Glen Mills Schools, Glen Mills, Pa.

Floor discussion

Section III. Services to Agencies and Communities

GROUP MEETING 1. THE EDUARD C. LINDEMAN MEMORIAL LECTURE

Presiding: Berkeley F. Watterson, AFL-CIO Community Services Activities, New York

Neomartial Programs: an Epidemiological Approach to Family Stability

Jessie Bernard, Professor, Department of Sociology, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pa.

Floor discussion

GROUP MEETING 2. BROKEN FAMILIES—COMMUNITY PLANS FOR PREVENTION IN SELECTED CITIES

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids. Use of Volunteers

Presiding: Marjorie Collins, Director, Central Volunteer Bureau, Community Council of Greater New York

"The Human Side." Mental Health Materials Center, Inc., 1790 Broadway, New York 19, N.Y.

"This Is My Friend." Cook County Department of Welfare, 160 North La Salle St., Chicago 1, Ill.

4:00 P.M.—5:30 P.M.

Committee on Financing of Social Welfare Services

Comprehensive Community Financial Planning for Health and Welfare Services

Presiding: Mrs. Linn Brandenburg, Associate Executive Director, Community Fund of Chicago

Financial Planning for Social Welfare within Comprehensive Community Planning

David H. Kurtzman, Director of Research, Pennsylvania Economy League, Pittsburgh

Discussants: C. F. McNeil, Executive Director, Health and Welfare Council, Philadelphia; Everett C. Shimp, Director, School of Social Administration, Ohio State University, Columbus

Committee on Methods of Social Action

The Role of Social Action in Preventing Family Breakdown

Presiding: Reuben Spannaus, Executive Director, Lutheran Child Welfare Association, Chicago

Principles and Methods of Social Action

Rudolph T. Danstedt, Director, Washington Branch, National Association of Social Workers

Discussants: Elizabeth Bannister, Assistant Director, Washington Children's Home Society, Seattle, and President, Washington Association for Social Welfare; Mrs. Mildred C. Barry, Director, Department of Older Persons and Chronically Ill, Welfare Federation of Cleveland

Committee on Personnel and Administration

GROUP MEETING 1. IMPORTANCE OF COOPERATIVE PLANNING BETWEEN PUBLIC WELFARE AGENCIES AND CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSIONS AND MERIT SYSTEMS

Presiding: Fedele Fauri, Dean, School of Social Work, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Cooperation from the Point of View of the Public Welfare Agency
Maurice O. Hunt, Chief, Bureau of Child Welfare, Maryland State Department of Public Welfare, Baltimore

Cooperation from the Point of View of the Experience of the Merit System Representative

Harwood Hoover, Merit System Representative, Regional Office, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Chicago

Contribution of the Social Worker to the Evaluation and Classification of Social Work Positions

Harriett Rinaldo, Social Work Service, Department of Medicine and Surgery, Veterans Administration, Washington, D.C.

Cooperation from the Point of View of the Experience of Civil Service Commissions

Joseph A. Connor, Regional Director, U.S. Civil Service Commission, Chicago

Floor discussion

GROUP MEETING 2. NEED FOR BOLD NEW IDEAS IN RECRUITMENT

Presiding: Emanuel Berlatsky, Director of Personnel and Training, National Jewish Welfare Board, New York

Vice Chairman: Mrs. Albert Werthan, Nashville, Tenn.; member, Board of Directors, Family Service Association of America

Participants: Mrs. Helen Worstell, Department of Sociology, Ohio University, Athens; Mrs. D. Reynolds Gairing, Director, Careers in Social Work, Welfare Federation of Cleveland; Lilian Espy, Personnel Advisor, Department of Personnel and Training, Camp

Fire Girls, Inc., New York; Sally Zeman, Instructor, School of Nursing, Loyola University, Chicago

Critique: Alex Rosen, Associate Professor, Yeshiva University, New York

Floor discussion

GROUP MEETING 3. PRINCIPLES INVOLVED IN THE SUPERVISION OF PROFESSIONAL STAFF

Presiding: Laurin Hyde, General Director, National Travelers Aid Association, New York

Supervision of Professional Staff

Mrs. Corinne Wolfe, Chief, Division of Technical Training, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

Discussants: Ernest F. Witte, Executive Director, Council on Social Work Education, New York; Mrs. Jane Costabile, Planning Director for Services to Groups, United Community Services, Detroit

Floor discussion

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids. Migrant Workers

Presiding: Curt Gatlin, Field Service, National Child Labor Committee, New York

"Home Is a Long Road." Bureau of Audio-Visual Instruction, University of Wisconsin, Madison 16, Wis.

"Desk for Billie." National Education Association, 1201 Sixteenth St., N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

7:00 P.M.

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids. Feature

Presiding: Malvin Morton, Executive Secretary, Chicago Federation of Settlements

"Together." Contemporary Films, Inc., 13 East 37th St., New York 16, N.Y.

8:30 P.M.

General Session

Presiding: Chester L. Bower, Executive Secretary, Welfare Planning Council of Los Angeles Region; Secretary, National Conference on Social Welfare

Presentation of National Conference on Social Welfare Awards by Eveline M. Burns, President, National Conference on Social Welfare

Report of Tellers Committee on 1958 Election

Introduction of Conference President for 1959

Curtain of Silence

Dramatic presentation: Written and produced by Ruth S. Moore,
Community Programs Counselors, Chicago

THURSDAY, MAY 15

9:15 A.M.—10:45 A.M.

Combined Associate Group Meeting. A Free Society Is the Reflection of Its Citizen Participation

Presiding: Frances K. Kernohan, Welfare Consultant, the Junior League of the City of New York

The Unique Contribution of the Volunteer in Achieving Understanding and Acceptance of Social Welfare Programs by the Community
Campbell G. Murphy, Executive Director, Social Planning Council of St. Louis

Discussant: Sol Morton Isaac, Columbus, Ohio; President, Ohio Citizens Council; Vice President, National Social Welfare Assembly; Past President, Family Service Association of America

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Restoring Citizen Rights to Mobile Americans

Discussion leader: Curt Gatlin, Field Service, National Child Labor Committee, New York

Changes on the National Scene

New York—a Victory

Lowell Iberg, Executive Secretary, New York State Association of Councils and Chests, New York

Wisconsin—a Defeat

Peter Meci, Director, Family and Child Welfare Division, Community Welfare Council of Milwaukee County

The Situation as Viewed by a Community Welfare Council

Amos T. Burrows, Jr., Executive Director, Community Welfare Council of Metropolitan Lorain, Ohio

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Proposed Changes in Social Work Education: What Do They Mean for the Practitioner?

Panel chairman: Arnulf Pins, National Jewish Welfare Board, New York

Speaker: Werner W. Boehm, Director and Coordinator, Curriculum Study, Council on Social Work Education, New York

Panel members: Mrs. Louise Mumm, National Social Welfare Assembly, New York; Esther Clemence, Director of Field Work, Smith College School for Social Work, Northampton, Mass.; Eliza-

beth Tuttle, Division of Social Administration, Ohio State Department of Public Welfare, Cleveland; C. Wilson Anderson, Executive Director, Family and Children's Service, Minneapolis

Combined Associate Group Meeting. The Impact of Our Changing Cities on Family Life

Presiding: Reginald A. Johnson, Director, Housing Activities, National Urban League, New York

Speaker: Murray Meld, Executive Director, Stamford Community Council, Stamford, Conn.

Discussion leader: Mrs. Dorothy Gazzolo, Associate Director, National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, Chicago

Panel members: Impact on Health Services—Alexander Ropchan, Assistant Director, Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago; Impact on Youth Services—Robert E. Mulligan, Assistant Director, Hull House, Chicago; Impact on Family Services—Earl N. Parker, Consultant, Family Service Association of America, New York; Impact on Intergroup Relations—Douglas R. Turner, Director of Community Services, Commission on Human Relations, Chicago

Combined Associate Group Meeting. The National and Local Agency: Partners in Meeting Local Problems

Presiding: Mrs. Alice S. Adler, Director of Public Relations, National Travelers Aid Association, New York

Speaker: Martha F. Allen, National Director, Camp Fire Girls, Inc., New York

Discussant: Arthur H. Kruse, General Director, Family Service Association of Cleveland

Floor discussion

Combined Associate Group Meeting. The Significance of Community Development in International Social Work

Presiding: Arthur Dunham, Professor of Community Organization, School of Social Work, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

Speaker: William W. Biddle, Director, Community Dynamics, Earlham College, Richmond, Ind.; at present Consultant in Community Development, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids. Integration

Presiding: Robert Disraeli, Director, Film Division, American Jewish Committee, New York

"Face of the South." Broadcasting and Film Commission, National

Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., 220 Fifth Ave., New York 1, N.Y.

"All the Way Home." Dynamic Films, Inc., 112 West 89th St., New York 24, N.Y.

Panel members: Margaret Carter, Director of Film Distribution, Broadcasting and Film Commission, National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., New York; Henk Nieuwenhuize, Medical Film Department, Pfizer Laboratories, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Guichard Parris, Director, Promotion and Publicity, National Urban League, New York; Willard Johnson, National Conference of Christians and Jews, Chicago

11:15 A.M.-12:45 P.M.

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Volunteers Achieve Understanding and Acceptance of Social Welfare Programs by the Community

Presiding: Frances K. Kernohan, Welfare Consultant, the Junior League of the City of New York

Symposium leader: Mrs. Moise S. Cahn, New Orleans; President, National Council of Jewish Women

Mental Health: a Volunteer Employment Committee of the San Francisco Association for Mental Health Interprets to Industry the Employment Needs of Discharged Mental Patients

Larry Loban, Employee Relations Specialist, Industrial Relations Department, Crown Zellerbach Corporation, San Francisco

Fund-raising: the Essential Involvement of the Volunteer Fund-raiser in Agency Program and Process

Mrs. Hans M. Rozendaal, Schenectady, N.Y.; member, National Budget Committee sponsored by United Community Funds and Councils and the National Social Welfare Assembly; Past President, Community Chest of Schenectady

Public Welfare: Use of Citizen Volunteers in Achieving Acceptance of a Public Welfare Program

Nelson Stephenson, Consultant on Community Services, North Carolina State Board of Public Welfare, Raleigh

Floor discussion

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Restoring Citizen Rights to Mobile Americans

Discussion leader: Curt Gatlin, Field Service, National Child Labor Committee, New York

What Can We Do?

How New York Mobilized Its Forces

Lowell Iberg, Executive Secretary, New York State Association of Councils and Chests, New York

Wyoming's Social Work Conference on Residence Laws
Views of a Businessman

Frank H. Woods, President, Sahara Coal Company, Chicago

Views of a Legislator

William H. Robinson, Representative of the 20th District (Chicago) in the Illinois House of Representatives

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Proposed Changes in Social Work Education: What Do They Mean for the Practitioner?

Combined Associate Group Meeting. Effect of Cultural Differences on Social Agencies

Presiding: Mrs. Elizabeth G. Ponafidine, Executive Director, International Institute of Buffalo

Speaker: Morton Teicher, Dean, School of Social Work, Yeshiva University, New York

Discussants: Casework—Peter Sandi, Case Supervisor, International Institute of Detroit; Group Work—William Brueckner, Executive Director, Chicago Commons Association; Community Planning—Florence G. Cassidy, Secretary, Nationality Department, United Community Services of Metropolitan Detroit

Floor discussion

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids. Integration

Presiding: Robert Disraeli, Director, Film Division, American Jewish Committee, New York

"Burden of Truth." United Steel Workers of America, 1500 Commonwealth Building, Pittsburgh, Pa.

1:15 P.M.

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids. Community Organization

Presiding: Eve Kneznek, In-Service Training, New York State Department of Social Welfare, Albany

"Call it Rehabilitation." International Rehabilitation Film Library, 701 First Ave., New York 17, N.Y.

FRIDAY, MAY 16

9:15 A.M.—10:45 A.M.

Section I. Services to Individuals and Families

GROUP MEETING 1. CURRENT PROBLEMS IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF A STATE-WIDE CHILD WELFARE PROGRAM

Presiding: Harold Hagen, Consultant, Child Welfare Services, American Public Welfare Association, Chicago

Speaker: Maurice O. Hunt, Chief, Bureau of Child Welfare, Maryland State Department of Public Welfare, Baltimore

Discussant: Fred DelliQuadri, Director, Division for Children and Youth, Wisconsin State Department of Public Welfare, Madison

GROUP MEETING 2. ISSUES AFFECTING THE REHABILITATION PROCESS

Presiding: Margaret Holden, Associate Professor of Social Work, School of Social Work, University of Illinois, Chicago

Speaker: William Gellman, Executive Director, Jewish Vocational Service and Employment Center, Chicago

Discussants: Bess Dana, Associate Professor, Director of Medical Social Work, School of Social Work, Simmons College, Boston; Cecil H. Patterson, Associate Professor, College of Education, University of Illinois, Urbana

GROUP MEETING 3. PREPARATION FOR RETIREMENT

Presiding: Charles E. Odell, Director, Older and Retired Workers Department, International Union, United Automobile Workers, Detroit

Panel members: Jack Weinberg, M.D., Attending Psychiatrist, Institute of Psychoanalytic and Psychiatric Research and Education, Michael Reese Hospital, Chicago; Martha Douglas, Director of Counseling and Employee Activities, Carson, Pirie, Scott and Co., Chicago; Mrs. Geneva Mathiasen, National Committee on the Aging of the National Social Welfare Assembly, New York

GROUP MEETING 4. MONEY: ITS USE AND MEANING TO CLIENT AND CASEWORKER

Presiding: Frances Lomas Feldman, Visiting Associate Professor, University of Southern California, Los Angeles

In the Public Agency

Eunice Minton, Chief, Welfare Service Standards Branch, Division of Program Standards and Development, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Administration, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

In the Private Agency

Maryann Brice, caseworker, Family and Children's Service, Pittsburgh

GROUP MEETING 5. ANOTHER LOOK AT SUPERVISION

Presiding: Margaret R. Fitzsimmons, Assistant Director, Family Service Bureau, United Charities of Chicago

A Concept of Supervision

Frances H. Scherz, Director of Casework, Jewish Family and Community Service, Chicago

A Concept of Supervision: Practical Application

Rita Spaulding, District Administrator, Jewish Family and Community Service, Chicago

GROUP MEETING 6. SOME TRENDS IN SOCIAL CASEWORK DIAGNOSIS

Presiding: Benjamin Lyndon, Director, School of Social Work, University of Buffalo

Speaker: Helen Harris Perlman, Professor, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago

Discussant: Jeanette Regensburg, Associate for Staff Development, Community Service Society, New York

Section II. Services to Groups and Individuals in Groups

Patterns of Collaboration in the Practice of Group Work, Casework, and Community Organization

Presiding: Aaron Sacks, Planning Consultant, Health and Welfare Association of Allegheny County, Pittsburgh

Principles of Interdisciplinary Collaboration

Joseph Soffen, Assistant Professor of Social Work, University of Wisconsin, School of Social Work, Milwaukee

Group Work, Casework, and Community Organization Practice with Fifty Newly Arrived Dutch Immigrant Families

Willette C. Pierce, Group Activities Coordinator, International Institute of Milwaukee County, Wis.

A Social Settlement's Experience in Planfully Utilizing the Services of Group Work, Casework, and Community Organization

Walter Smart, community worker, Germantown Settlement, Philadelphia

Floor discussion

Section III. Services to Agencies and Communities

GROUP MEETING 1. THE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION COMPONENT IN AGENCY ADMINISTRATION

Presiding: Alton A. Linford, Dean, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago

From the Standpoint of the Private Agency

Robert F. Nelson, Executive Director, United Charities, Chicago

From the Point of View of the Public Agency

Norman V. Lourie, Deputy Secretary, Pennsylvania State Department of Welfare, Harrisburg

GROUP MEETING 2. COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION FOR MENTAL HEALTH

Presiding: Robert E. Bondy, Director, National Social Welfare Assembly, New York

State-wide Responsibility

M. J. Rockmore, Acting Chief, Division of Community Services, Connecticut State Department of Mental Health, Hartford

Consideration of Undeveloped Areas of Community Organization in Mental Health

Herbert L. Rooney, Chief Psychiatric Social Worker, Mental Health Center, Silver Spring, Md.

GROUP MEETING 3. COORDINATION OF PHYSICAL AND SOCIAL PLANNING IN METROPOLITAN AREAS

Presiding: Fred K. Hoehler, Consultant to the Mayor, City of Chicago

Albert Rose, Professor of Social Welfare, School of Social Work, University of Toronto; member, Metropolitan Planning Board, Toronto

Committee on Audio-Visual Aids. Services to Special Groups

Presiding: Ann Elizabeth Neely, Council on Social Work Education, New York

"Back into the Sun." Text-Film Department, McGraw-Hill Book Co., 330 West 42d St., New York 36, N.Y.

"Wonder of Work." International Rehabilitation Film Library, 701 First Ave., New York 17, N.Y.

"The Bridge." Camera Eye Pictures, Inc., 8811 Santa Monica Blvd., Los Angeles 46, Calif.

11:15 A.M.-12:45 P.M.

Closing General Session and Annual Meeting

Presiding: Eveline M. Burns, President, National Conference on Social Welfare

The Space Age and Social Welfare

Joseph Kaplan, Professor of Physics, University of California at Los Angeles; Chairman, U.S. National Committee for the International Geophysical Year

Report of the Treasurer

Report of the 1958 Nominations Committee

Progress report on the study of the future role and structure of the National Conference now in process

Speakers: David G. French, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor; Chairman, NCSW Study Commission

Joe R. Hoffer, Executive Secretary, National Conference on Social Welfare

Appendix B: Business Organization of the Conference for 1958

THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE is a voluntary association of individual and organizational members who have joined the Conference to promote and share in discussion of the problems and methods identified with the field of social work and immediately related fields.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SOCIAL WELFARE AND ASSOCIATE GROUPS

NCSW OFFICERS

President: Eveline M. Burns, New York
First Vice President: Frank Weil, New York (deceased)
Second Vice President: Robert H. MacRae, Chicago
Third Vice President: Robert Bondy, New York
Secretary: Chester L. Bower, Los Angeles
Treasurer: Arch Mandel, Boston
Past President: Margaret Hickey, St. Louis
President-Nominee: Robert H. MacRae
Executive Secretary: Joe R. Hoffer, Columbus, Ohio

NCSW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Includes Officers Listed Above

Term expires 1958: Elmer V. Andrews, Trenton, N.J.; Lyle W. Ashby, Washington, D.C.; Alton M. Childs, Chicago; Virginia Franks, Madison, Wis.; Eva Hance, San Francisco; Howard E. Thomas, Ithaca, N.Y.; Anne Wilkens, Austin, Texas

Term expires 1959: Phyllis Burns, Ottawa, Canada; Thomas C. Desmond, Newburgh, N.Y.; Lyman S. Ford, New York; Victor I. Howery, Seattle; Mrs. Victor Shaw, Fairmont, W. Va.; Sue Spencer, Nashville, Tenn.; George Stevenson, M.D., New York

Term expires 1960: Harry M. Carey, Boston; Bill Child, Boise, Idaho; Wilbur J. Cohen, Ann Arbor, Mich.; David G. French, Ann

Arbor, Mich.; Clara Kaiser, New York; Mrs. Justine Wise Polier, New York; Karl Stern, M.D., Montreal, Canada

NCSW COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS

Chairman: Morris Zelditch, New York

Term expires 1958: Harry L. Alston, Atlanta, Ga.; Mitchell I. Ginsberg, New York; Mary Wells Milam, Miami, Fla.; Charles F. Mitchell, Austin, Texas; Elma Phillipson, New York; Cynthia L. Stokes, Madison, Wis.

Term expires 1959: Margaret Adams, New York; Arthur E. Fink, Chapel Hill, N.C.; Sol M. Isaac, Columbus, Ohio; Leah James, Chattanooga, Tenn.; Mrs. Jane W. McKaskle, San Francisco; Violet M. Sieder, New York

Term expires 1960: Helen M. Alvord, Greenwich, Conn.; H. E. Chamberlain, M.D., Sacramento, Calif.; Dorothy B. Ferebee, M.D., Washington, D.C.; Mrs. Frances Goodall, St. Louis; Ralph D. L. Price, Chicago; Esther Test, Cleveland; Cecile M. Whalen, Washington, D.C.

NCSW PROGRAM COMMITTEE

Members-at-Large

Term expires 1958: Arthur Kruse, Cleveland; John Tramberger, Trenton, N.J.

Term expires 1959: Mrs. Robert L. Foote, Glencoe, Ill.; John Kidneigh, Minneapolis

Term expires 1960: Mrs. Moise Cahn, New Orleans; John McDowell, New York

NCSW SECTION COMMITTEES

SECTION I. SERVICES TO INDIVIDUALS AND FAMILIES

Chairman: Phyllis Osborn, Chicago

Vice Chairman: Helen Harris Perlman, Chicago

Term expires 1958: Margaret R. Fitzsimmons, Chicago; Manuel Kaufman, Philadelphia; Henry H. Kessler, M.D., Newark, N.J.; Florence Poole, Urbana, Ill.

Term expires 1959: Alfred Angster, Chicago; Shelton Granger, Minneapolis; Jerome Kaplan, Minneapolis; Marion Murphy, Minneapolis

Term expires 1960: Mrs. Margaret D. Brevoort, Milwaukee; Mrs. Edwin J. Kuh, Jr., Highland Park, Ill.; Ben S. Meeker, Chicago; Mary A. Young, Chicago

SECTION II. SERVICES TO GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS IN GROUPS

Chairman: Helen U. Phillips, Philadelphia

Vice Chairman: Jack Stumpf, Philadelphia

Term expires 1958: Marie W. Fasig, Milwaukee; Harold Hagen, Chicago; Mrs. Bartlett B. Heard, Berkeley, Calif.; Malcom S. Knowles, Chicago; Norma J. Sims, Seattle

Term expires 1959: Virginia Burns, Boston; John Q. Douglas, Augusta, Maine; Richard Lodge, Philadelphia; Walter B. Miller, Roxbury, Mass.

Term expires 1960: Elizabeth A. Campbell, Philadelphia; Helen E. Heydrick, Philadelphia; Bernard R. Marks, Philadelphia; Dorothy J. Royce, Upper Darby, Pa.

SECTION III. SERVICES TO AGENCIES AND COMMUNITIES

Chairman: Ray Gordon, Balboa, Canal Zone

Vice Chairman: Riley E. Mapes, Denver

Term expires 1958: Warren M. Banner, New York; Mrs. Donald C. Bromfield, Denver; John D. Carney, New York; Harry S. Jones, Charlotte, N.C.; Cecile Whalen, Washington, D.C.

Term expires 1959: James H. Bond, Dallas; Mrs. Moise Cahn, New Orleans; Walter Kindelsperger, New Orleans

Term expires 1960: H. Aubrey Elliott, Austin, Texas; Jessie B. Johnson, Denver; Mrs. Louis A. Pollock, Denver; Mrs. Margaret Rule, Oklahoma City

NCSW COMMON SERVICE COMMITTEES

COMMITTEE ON FINANCING OF SOCIAL WELFARE

Chairman: Alvin R. Guyler, Pittsburgh

Vice Chairman: W. I. Newstetter, Pittsburgh

Term expires 1958: Isador Beierfeld, Kansas City, Mo.; James Brown, IV, Chicago; Ray Fornsberg, Waterloo, Iowa; Edward Keyes, Springfield, Mass.; Edgar F. Witte, Chicago

Term expires 1960: Louis Evans, Pittsburgh; Robert I. Hiller, Pittsburgh; Marshall Stalley, Pittsburgh; Norman Lourie, Harrisburg, Pa.; Elmer Tropman, Pittsburgh

COMMITTEE ON METHODS OF SOCIAL ACTION

Chairman: O. K. Krueger, Seattle

Vice Chairman: William H. Ireland, Seattle

Term expires 1958: Minor Baker, Seattle; William B. Baker, Saskatchewan, Canada; Nelson Cruikshank, Washington, D.C.; Eleanor Dungan, Chicago; Ray Gibbons, New York; Leonard L. Hegland, Seattle; William Schwartz, Urbana, Ill.; Lewis Watts, Seattle

Term expires 1960: Victor I. Howery, Seattle; Jeanne Jewett, Portland, Oreg.; Lillian Johnson, Seattle; A. A. Smick, Pullman, Wash.; Rev. R. Spannaus, Seattle

COMMITTEE ON PERSONNEL AND ADMINISTRATION

Chairman: Mrs. Ella Reed, Cincinnati

Vice Chairman: William Walton, Cincinnati

Term expires 1958: Anna Crane, North Hollywood, Calif.; Lucille DeVoe, Indianapolis; Genevieve Gabower, Washington, D.C.; Mary Houk, Indianapolis; Campbell Murphy, St. Louis; Maurice J. Ostomel, Pasadena, Calif.; Harvey Peterson, Cheyenne, Wyo.; Herbert Pottle, Toronto, Canada; Jay L. Roney, Washington, D.C.; Helen Johnstone Weisbrod, Chicago

Term expires 1960: Frederick Breyer, Cincinnati; Sanford Brooks, Cincinnati; Martin Cohen, Cincinnati; Anna Budd Ware, Cincinnati

NSCW COMMITTEE ON AUDIO-VISUAL AIDS

Chairman: Elsa Volckmann, New York

Vice Chairman: Mrs. Aline B. Auerbach, New York

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Term expires 1959: Lee Bobker, New York; Margaret Carter, New York; Eva Kneznek, Albany, N.Y.; Henk Nieuwenhuize, Brooklyn, N.Y.; Martha Winn, New York

Term expires 1960: O. H. Coelln, Chicago; Robert Finehout, New York; Agnes Jones, New York; Rohama Lee, New York; Edward Linzer, New York; Sarah Marshall, New York; Malvin Morton, Chicago

NCSW EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

Chairman: Ellen Winston, Raleigh, N.C.

Emanuel Berlatsky, New York; Gordon Hamilton, New York

SELECTION COMMITTEE FOR
CASEWORK PAPERS, 1958

Chairman: Harold Hagen, Chicago

Elizabeth Watkins, Chicago; Martha Winch, Chicago

SELECTION COMMITTEE FOR
GROUP WORK PAPERS, 1958

Chairman: William Schwartz, Urbana, Ill.

Russell Hogrefe, Chicago; Florence Ray, New York; Bernard M. Shiffman, Chicago

SELECTION COMMITTEE FOR
COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PAPERS, 1958

Chairman: Barbara Wallace, Chicago
Frank E. Keller, Chicago; Thomas Sherrard, Chicago

STAFF PERSONNEL COMMITTEE

Chairman: Mrs. Victor Shaw, Fairmont, W. Va.
Russell Leedy, Columbus, Ohio; Meyer Schwartz, Columbus, Ohio

PROGRAM CHAIRMEN OF COMBINED
ASSOCIATE GROUP MEETINGS

Present Patterns of Community Planning

Paul R. Cherney, Executive Director, Family Service Bureau, Houston, Texas

The Competition for Professional Manpower—Its Implication for Social Work Recruitment

Alex Rosen, Yeshiva University, New York

Americans Meet the Hungarian Refugee Crisis

Ann S. Petluck, Director, United States Operations, United HIAS Service, New York

Ways in Which Various Fields and Specialities Are Attempting to Reach Unreached Youth

Fred DelliQuadri, Director, Division for Children and Youth, Wisconsin State Department of Public Welfare, Madison

Integration—a Challenge to Community Agencies and Institutions

William Bartlett, Health and Welfare Council of the National Capital Area, Washington, D.C.

Parent Education—Whose Responsibility?

Mae Mooney, Director of Family Life Education, Boston Family Service Association

Labor and Social Work

Isaac Gurman, Director, St. Louis Bureau for Men

Indian Newcomers in Urban Communities

Louisa Shotwell, Associate Secretary, Division of Home Missions, National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A., New York

A Free Society Is the Reflection of Its Citizen Participation: Volunteers Achieve Understanding and Acceptance of Social Welfare Programs by the Community

Frances K. Kernohan, Welfare Consultant, the Junior League of the City of New York

Restoring Citizen Rights to Mobile Americans

Curt Gatlin, Field Service, National Child Labor Committee, New York

Proposed Changes in Social Work Education: What Do They Mean for the Practitioner?

Ann Elizabeth Neely, Council on Social Work Education, New York
The Impact of Our Changing Cities on Family Life

Reginald Johnson, National Urban League, New York

The National and Local Agency: Partners in Meeting Local Problems
Mrs. Alice S. Adler, Director of Public Relations, National Travelers Aid Association, New York

The Significance of Community Development in International Social Work

W. N. Collison, American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, New York

Effect of Cultural Differences on Social Agencies

Mrs. Elisabeth Ponafidine, Executive Director, International Institute of Buffalo

COMMITTEE ON COMBINED ASSOCIATE GROUP MEETINGS

Chairman: Lt. Colonel Chester R. Brown, Salvation Army

AFL-CIO Community Service Activities, Julius Rothman; American Home Economics Association, Mrs. Gertrude Lotwin; American Public Welfare Association, Peter Kasius; Child Study Association of America, Alfred D. Buchmueller; Family Service Association of America, Joseph McDonald; International Conference of Social Work, U.S. Committee, Mrs. Henrietta Gordon; International Social Service-American Branch, Mrs. Susan T. Pettiss; National Council of Jewish Women, Mrs. Frances T. Cahn; National Jewish Welfare Board, Herbert Millman; National Probation and Parole Association, Sol Rubin

PROGRAM CHAIRMEN OF ASSOCIATE GROUPS

AFL-CIO Community Services Activities, Julius F. Rothman

American Federation of International Institutes, Mrs. Ione DuVal

American Friends Service Committee, Olcott Sanders

American Home Economics Association, Mrs. Gertrude Lotwin

American Humane Association (Children's Division), Vincent de Francis

American Immigration Conference, Mrs. Ruth Z. Murphy

American Jewish Committee, David Danzig

American Legion (National Child Welfare Division), Randel Shake

American National Red Cross, A. G. Klamke

American Public Welfare Association, Loula Dunn
American Social Hygiene Association, Mrs. Dorothy Bird Daly
Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, Israel H. Moss
Association of State Conferences of Social Work, Teresa A. Farrell
Association of the Junior Leagues of America, Jane Sutherland
Big Brothers of America, Goesta Wollin
Child Study Association of America, Alfred D. Buchmueller
Child Welfare League of America, Elizabeth Meek
Church Conference of Social Work, William J. Villaume
Council on Social Work Education, Ann Elizabeth Neely
Episcopal Service for Youth, Edith Balmford
Family Service Association of America, Joseph McDonald
Florence Crittenton Homes Association, Virgil Payne
International Conference of Social Work (U.S. Committee), Henrietta Gordon
International Social Service (American Branch), Emilie Strauss
Muscular Dystrophy Associations of America, H. Kenneth Fitzgerald
National Association for Mental Health, Edward Linzer
National Association for Retarded Children, Gunnar Dybwad
National Association of Housing and Redevelopment Officials, Fern M. Colborn
National Association of Social Workers, Joseph P. Anderson
Committee on Community Organization, Joseph P. Anderson
Group Work Section, Helen Northen
Medical Social Work Section, Florence Haselkorn
Psychiatric Social Work Section, Gordon J. Aldridge
Research Section, Maurice B. Hamovitch
School Social Work Section, Mrs. Roberta N. Krieg
National Association of Training Schools and Juvenile Agencies, Abraham G. Novick
National Association on Service to Unmarried Parents, Bess Craig
National Child Labor Committee, Lila Rosenblum
National Conference of Jewish Communal Service, Samuel Levine
National Council, Protestant Episcopal Church, Mrs. Muriel S. Webb
National Council of Jewish Women, Mrs. Frances T. Cahn
National Council of YMCA's, Sutherland D. Miller
National Council on Naturalization and Citizenship, Mrs. Ruth Z. Murphy
National Federation of Settlements and Neighborhood Centers, Margaret Berry
National Jewish Welfare Board, Herbert Millman
National Legal Aid Association, Junius L. Allison
National Probation and Parole Association, Sol Rubin

National Publicity Council for Health and Welfare Services, Harold N. Weiner

National Social Welfare Assembly, George W. Rabinoff

National Society for Crippled Children and Adults, Mrs. Rhoda Gellman

National Travelers Aid Association, Isabelle Axenfeld

National Urban League, Nelson C. Jackson

Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Mrs. Miriam F. Garwood

Salvation Army, Commissioner Norman S. Marshall

Social Work Vocational Bureau, Mrs. Margaret B. Hodges

United Community Funds and Councils of America, Eugene Shenefield

United HIAS Service, Ann S. Petluck

United Seamen's Service, Mrs. Lillian Rose

Volunteers of America, Colonel John F. McMahon

YWCA of the U.S.A., Mildred Savacool

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